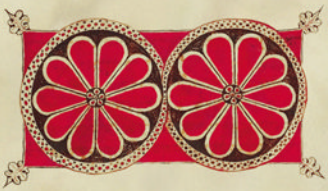
Faith and Freedom in Galatia and Senegal

THE APOSTLE PAUL, COLONISTS AND SENDING GODS



ALIOU CISSÉ NIANG

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Faith and Freedom in Galatia and Senegal

The Apostle Paul, Colonists and Sending Gods

By
Aliou Cissé Niang

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ABBREVIATIONS

AA	*African Affairs*
AB	Anchor Bible
ABD	*Anchor Bible Dictionary.* Edited by D. N. Freedman. 6 vols. New York, 1992
ABRL	Anchor Bible Reference Library
AHD	*African Historical Dictionary*
AJAHFA	*The American Journal of Archaeology and of the History of the Fine Arts*
AJP	*American Journal of Philology*
AJS	*American Journal of Sociology*
AN	Analecta Biblica
ANET	*Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament.* Edited by J. B. Pritchard. 3rd ed. Princeton, 1969
ANRW	*Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt: Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung.* Edited by H. Temporini and W. Haase. Berlin, 1972–
APACR	American Philological Association Classical Resources Series
ASR	African Studies Review
BAAM	British Institute of Archeology at Ankara Monograph No. 4. B. A. R., 122 Banbury Road, Oxford OX2 7BP, England, 1982
BDAG	Bauer, W., F. W. Danker, W. F. Arndt, and F. W. Gingrich. *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature.* 3rd ed. Chicago, 1999
BDB	Brown, F., S. R. Driver, and C. A. Briggs. *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament.* Oxford, 1907
BHS	*Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia.* Edited by K. Elliger and W. Rudolph. Stuttgart, 1983
BibInt	*Biblical Interpretation*
BNTC	Black's New Testament Commentaries
BWK	*Die Beichtinschriften Westkleinasiens*
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
CCFJ	The Complete Concordance to Flavius Josephus
CEDTSHT	Collection d'études, de document et de témoignages pour servir: l'Histoire de notre temps

CIG	*Corpus inscriptionum graecarum.* Edited by A. Boeckh. 4 vols. Berlin, 1828–1877
C. *Iust.*	*Corpus Iuris Civilis II: Codex Iustinianus*, Berlin 1906
CM	Cuneiform Monographs
CMRDM	Corpus Monumentorum Religionis Dei Menis
CP	*Classical Philology*
CS	Hatch, Edwin and Henry A. Redpath. *A Concordance to the Septuagint: And the Other Greek Versions of the Old Testament (Including the Apocryphal Books)* (2nd ed.; Grand Rapids, MI; Baker Book House, 1998)
CSSCA	Cambridge Studies in Social and Cultural Anthropology
DBI	*Dictionary of Biblical Interpretation*
EA	*Epigraphica Anatolica*
ECGNT	Exhaustive Concordance to the Greek New Testament
EDNT	*Exegetical Dictionary of the New Testament.* Edited by H. Balz, G. Schneider. ET. Grand Rapids. 1990–1993
EP	*Das Evangelium nach Philippos, Coptic text.* Edited and translated by W. C. Till, Patristische Texte und Studien 2. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1963*;* Schenke, Hans-Martin. *The Gospel of Philip: New Testament Apocrypha.* Vol I. Edited by Wilhelm Schneemelcher. Translated by R. McL. Wilson. Westminster/John Knox: Louisville, KY, 1990
EPRO	Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'empire romaine
ER	*Epistula and Rheginum (De resurrectione), Coptic text.* Edited and translated by M. Malinine, H. Ch. Puech, G. Quispel, W. Till. Zürich: Rascher, 1963
ETAM	Ergänzungsbände zu den Tituli Asiae Minoris. Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften
Exc	*Excerpta ex Theodoto*, from *Stromata*, Clement of Alexander. Edited and translated by F. Sagnard, *Les Extraits de Théodote*, Sources Chrétiennes 23. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1948
FCSEA	Foreign and Comparative Studies/Eastern Africa XVI
FHJA	*Fragments from Hellenistic Jewish Authors*. Edited by Carl R. Holladay. 4 Vols. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1983–96
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
HALOT	Koehler, L., W. Baumgartner, and J. J. Stamm. *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament.* Translated and edited under the supervision of M. E. J. Richardson. 4 vols. Leiden, 1994–1999

HECOT	Kohlenberger III, John R. and James A. Swanson. *The Hebrew English Concordance to the Old Testament with the New International Version*. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1998
HSCP	*Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*
HT	*History and Theory*
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review*
ICC	International Critical Commentary
IFT	Introduction to Feminist Theology
IJAHS	*International Journal of African Historical Studies*
IJMGR	*International Journal on Minority and Group Rights*
ILS	*Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*
JA	*Jeune Afrique*
JAAR	*Journal of the American Academy of Religion*
JAH	*The Journal of African History*
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JEH	*Journal of Ecclesiastical History*
JHS	*Journal of Hellenic Studies*
JQR	*Jewish Quarterly Review*
JR	*Journal of Religion*
JRS	*Journal of Roman Studies*
JRefS	*Journal of Refugee Studies*
JSJ	*Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Periods*
JSNT	*Journal for the Study of the New Testament*
JSNTSup	Journal for the Study of the New Testament: Supplement Series
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament: Supplement Series
JSPSup	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha: Supplement Series
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LEFAR	Librairie des écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, Georges Péter, *L'Effort Français au Sénégal*
LEH	J. Lust, E. Eynikel, and K. Hauspie, *Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*
LPS	Library of Pauline Studies
LS	*Louvain Studies*
LSJM	Liddell, H. G., R. Scott, H. S. Jones, R. McKenzie, *A Greek-English Lexicon*. 9th ed. with revised supplement. Oxford, 1996

LXX	*Septuagint*. Edited by Alfred Rahlfs
MAMA	*Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua: vol. 4: Monuments and Documents from Eastern and Western Galatia*, edited by W. H. Buckler, W. M. Calder and W. K. Guthrie. Manchester and London, 1928–1993
MLQ	*Modern Language Quarterly*
MT	Masoretic Text
NewDocs	*New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity*. Edited by G. H. R. Horsley and S. Llewelyn. North Ryde, N.S.W., 1981–
NIB	*The New Interpreter's Bible*
NIDNT	*New International Dictionary of the New Testament*
NIDNTT	*New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology*. Edited by C. Brown. 4 vols. Grand Rapids, 1975–1985
NIGTC	New International Greek Testament Commentary
NT	*Novum Testamentum*
NTR	New Testament Readings
NTS	*New Testament Studies*
NTTS	New Testament Tools and Studies
OBT	Overtures to Biblical Theology
OCD	*Oxford Classical Dictionary*. Edited by S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth. 3d ed. Oxford, 1996
ODJR	*Oxford Dictionary of the Jewish Religion*. Edited by R. J. Zwi Werblowsky and Geoffrey Wigoder. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997
OCM	Oxford Classical Monographs
OLD	*Oxford Latin Dictionary*. Edited by R. C. Palmer. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968
OTP	*Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*. Edited by James H. Charlesworth. 2 vols. New York, 1983–1985
PA	Présence Africaine
PIP	*Paragon Issues in Philosophy*
PNIA	Papers from the Norwegian Institute at Athens 4. Edited by David R. Jordan et al.
RBL	*Review of Biblical Literature*
RECAM II	*Regional Ephigraphic Catalogues of Asia Minor II: The British School of Archaeology at Ankara, Monograph No. 4*. BAR International Series, 135; Oxford: BAR, 1982
RS	Religion and Society
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature

SBLTT	Society of Biblical Literature Texts and Translations Pseudepigrapha
SEG	Supplementum epigraphicum graecum
SFSHJ	South Florida Studies in the History of Judaism
SGRR	*Studies in Greek and Roman Religion*
SHA	Scriptores Historiae Augustae
SHS	*Sciences Humaines Sociales*
SJT	*Scottish Journal of Theology*
SNT	Supplements to Novum Testamentum
SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
SNTW	Studies of the New Testament and Its World
TAM	*Tituli Asiae Minoris*
TDNT	*Theological Dictionary of the New Testament.* Edited by G. Kittel and G. Friedrich. Translated by G. W. Bromiley. 10 vols. Grand Rapids, 1964–1976
TLNT	*Theological Lexicon of the New Testament*. C. Spicq. Translated and edited by J. D. Ernest. 3 vols. Peabody, Mass., 1994
UB	Analecta Biblica: Investigationes Scientificae in Res Biblicas
USQR	*Union Seminary Quarterly Review*
VT	*Vetus Testamentum*
WA	*World Archaeology*
WAJA	*West African Journal of Archaeology*
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
YCS	Yale Classical Studies
ZPE	*Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION: *A SOCIOPOSTCOLONIAL HERMENEUTICS*

Sculpture and classical texts portray the Gauls/Galatians as vanquished barbarians.[1] Graeco-Roman colonial or imperial hermeneuts textually label them primitive, savage, fickle, uncivilized barbarians, and warlike giant beasts[2] as a means of reducing them into subjects to subdue, rule, or *Greecize*[3] and *Romanize*. In a quite different era and place—my home of Senegal in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries—French colonial officials and the Holy Ghost Fathers labeled the Diola people as savage, primitive, indolent, superstitious, and morally depraved, people without a religion and in desperate need of civilization.[4] Diola people live on the southwest and northwest shores of the Casamance river between the Gambia (north), Guinée Bissau (south) and the coast of the Atlantic Ocean (see maps on pages 71–72).

Whoever has the most power in a society, shapes that society—for good or ill. Galatians 2:11–14 and 3:26–29 depict Paul in such a role,

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[1] J. J. Pollitt, *Art in the Hellenistic Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 79–110; I. M. Ferris, *Enemies of Rome: Barbarians Through Roman Eyes* (Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing, 2000), 1–16; David L. Balch, "Paul's Portrait of Christ Crucified (Gal 3:1) in Light of Paintings and Sculptures of Suffering and Death in Pompeiian and Roman Houses," in *Early Christian Families in Context: An Interdisciplinary Dialogue* (ed. David L. Balch and Carolyn Osiek; Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2003), 84–108.

[2] Ferris, *Enemies*, 3–6; Pol. *His*. 18.17.9–12; 18.41.7; 2.32.8; 3.78.2; 24.14.7; 3.3.5; Athenaeus, *Deipn*. iv.151e–152b; Livy, *Hist*. 38.17.9–10. David Rankin, "Celts Through Classical Eyes," in *The Celtic World* (ed. Miranda J. Green; New York: Routledge, 1995), 21–33, provides a concise discussion of typologies the above ancient authors apply to Celts, Gauls/Galatians.

[3] Nancy T. de Grummond, "Gauls and Giants, Skylla and the Palladion: Some Responses," in *From Pergamon to Sperlonga: Sculpture and Context* (ed. Nancy T. de Grummond and Brunilde S. Ridgway; Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 256; Greg Woolf, *Becoming Roman: The Origins of Provincial Civilization in Gaul* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 241–9. An encounter between two cultures is a dynamic phenomenon that affects the dominant characteristics of each.

[4] G. G. Beslier, *Le Sénégal* (CEDTSHT; Paris: Payot, 1935), 111, 123; Robert Baum, "Emergence of Diola Christianity," *Africa* 60/3(1990): 386. I am indebted to Robert M. Baum whose research places Diola encounters with the Holy Ghost Father between 1880–1918 (Baum, "Emergence," 378).

as a sociopostcolonial hermeneut who acts on his self-understanding as God's messenger in order to create or form[5] through faith in the cross of Christ free egalitarian communities. Like a Greek colonist, Saul-become-Paul, the once famous persecutor of the church in Judea and the diaspora,[6] was divinely cleansed, empowered, and sent to create a people. With his gospel, he fearlessly engaged in socioreligious conflicts to free the Gauls/Galatians from a mythologized defeat which is publically fossilized in the Pergamum Frieze.[7] That was the way he constructed Christian communities.

---

[5] *LSJM*, "ἀποικεσία," 200, conveys the idea of settling in a foreign land. The verb form, ἀποικίζω, means to "colonize a place" or "send a colony to it" (1 Sam 4:22; 2 Kgs 15:29; 16:9; 17:6; Herod. *Hist.* 1.94; Thucydides, *Hist.* 1.24. 2). The word as Karl Heinrich Rengstorf, "ἀποικίζω," *CCFJ*, 1.185, quips, could mean "to resettle, settle elsewhere" or "send out" to inhabit a land (Josephus, *Ant.* 8.114). Neither the noun nor verb form occurs in Galatians. Paul however does use κτίσις "creation" (Gal 6: 15) and ἐκκλησία "assembly, community or church" (Gal 1:2, 13, 22). See "קָהַל" (verb) and "קָהָל" (noun) in John Kohlenberger III and James A. Swanson, *HECOT*, 7736–7. The verb קָהַל means "to congregate" or "assemble." The word קָהָל is often translated ἐκκλησία "assembly" or "community" in the LXX (see Edwin Hatch and Henry A. Redpath, "ἐκκλησία," *CS*, 433)—a term Paul uses to refer to his alternative communities. Whereas the word ἐκκλησία was used by classical writers to refer to a civic assembly of people, New Testament writers used it to speak of those who "confess Jesus as Lord" and are committed to his worldview (Wayne O. McCready, "Ekklēsia and Voluntary Associations," *Voluntary Associations in the Graeco-Roman World* (ed. John S. Kloppenborg and Stephen G. Wilson; New York, Routledge, 1996), 61. See also Richard A. Horsley, "I Corinthians: A Case Study of Paul's Assembly as an Alternative Society," in *Paul and Empire: Religion and Power in Roman Imperial Society* (ed. Richard A. Horsley; Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 1997), 242–52.

[6] ὑπερβολὴν (extreme) denotes the intense nature of his persecuting of the church (Gal 1:13). In Acts 9:1, Luke describes Paul as one ἐμπνέων ἀπειλῆς καὶ φόνου εἰς τοὺς μαθητὰς τοῦ κυρίου (breathing threats and murder against the disciples of the Lord). Brigitte Kahl, "Reading Galatians and Empire at the Great Altar of Pergamon," *USQR* 59/3–4(2005): 29–30, notes, "within the ancient world, the Jewish God was difficult to integrate and also had a shameful track record of trouble-making. But if we look at the pre-Damascus Paul—how he zealously fights for the law and the traditions of 'his (he says 'my'-Gal 1:14) fathers', how he wages a holy war with God at his side, how he tries to destroy the lawless Other without mercy—it seems like a replica of the battle fought by the gods against the giants. It has a different color but essentially the same structure. JEWS versus GENTILES can be seen as equivalent to GREEKS versus BARBARIANS/GIANTS. In both cases, a dominant SELF upholding law and order stands against an OTHER defined as hostile to order and law. That means that the biblical God, in a way, despite his absence *was* there at the Great Frieze as well, God among Gods within the framework of a law-based order."

[7] Kahl, "Reading Galatians," 25, says the "Great Altar immerses us into a collective memory where the Galatians are firmly linked to the history of Pergamon, Rome, and the Greco-Roman world in General. They are seen, at least from the dominant perspective, as 'universal barbarians,' a sort of 'ancient terrorists' operating on a global scale and they unite the Greco-Roman world not only in common fear of *terror et tumultus*

As a Senegalese who converted from Islam to Christianity and who trained in Biblical interpretation in the West, I often wondered how Paul's Epistle to the churches of Galatia should be read and appropriated in the context of colonial, post- and neocolonial Senegalese[8] Diola communities of West Africa. For in their initial zealous encounters with Diola peoples in 1835,[9] Christians missionaries, notably the "Holy Ghost fathers,"[10] failed to appreciate or perhaps deliberately ignored the already well established and successful socioreligious, economic, and political infrastructure of Diola communities.[11] Rather than learning why that infrastructure had evolved as it had to ensure the survival and prosperity of the Diola communities, shaped by Western Enlightenment ideology most of these colonial administrators and Christian missionaries

(favorite words used by ancient writers to describe Galatians/Gauls/Celts), but also in gratitude for any victory won over them." See also J. H. C. Williams, *Beyond the Rubicon: Romans and Gauls in Republican Italy* (OCM; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 217, on Roman colonial ideology.

[8] Aliou Cissé Niang, "Postcolonial Biblical Interpretation in Geographical Settings: The Case of Senegal," in *Reconstructing Old Testament Theology: After the Collapse of History* (OBT; ed. Leo G. Perdue; Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2005), 319–329. The essay focuses solely on a unique Senegalese response to colonial policies of assimilation and association, a strategic and intellectual resistence to French hegemony and a hermeneutical primer. The Diola question was not raised because of its historical and phenomenological peculiarities that I will address in this work. Although ethnographers variably spell the name of this group of people as either Diola, Jola, or Joola, this work will henceforth refer to them as Diola. The English spelling, Senegal, will be used henceforth except in direct quotes from French texts.

[9] Beslier, *Le Sénégal*, 111. Attempts to colonize the Diola region were initiated by Le Lieutenant-gouverneur Pujol in 1835, who promised to build strong houses for the Diola. In 1837, Emmanuel Bertrand Bocandé arrived in Carabane—a Diola village where he built trading posts. He was a traveler, a merchant, and a polyglot, adept in the taxonomy of insects (J. Bertrand-Bocandé, et al., "Emmanuel Bertrand-Bocande (1812–1881): un Nantais en Casamance," *NT Bulletin de L' I. F. A. N.* XXXI/1(1969): 279–302.

[10] Robert Delavignette, *Christianity and Colonialism* (trans. J. R. Foster; New York: Hawthorn Books Publishers, 1964), 63–78. Delavignette was a colonial administrator who served in Africa and as director at the Ministère de la France d' *Outre-mer*. He was an outspoken critic of French colonization (ibid., 37–52).

[11] This failure echoes Augustine's individualistic *Soliloquies* 2.1 in which he empathically expresses his "desire to know God and the soul.... Nothing more." Although this reductionism predates the Enlightenment, the emphasis on the privatization of faith has generated a rampant individualism that affected much of Enlightenment biblical exegesis up to this day. Augustine, too, failed to take seriously Paul's language that emphasizes the other more than the self. In Gal 2:20, he insists that...ζῶ δὲ οὐκέτι ἐγώ, ζῇ δὲ ἐν ἐμοὶ Χριστός..."and it is no longer I who live, but it is Christ who lives in me." The Apostle Paul thus shows that boundaries between him and Christ are removed—giving rise to a new community in which Christ is present. The immanence of Jesus Christ in the community shapes the identity of its members (Gal 3:28).

promoted both human equality from birth and inequality resulting from the accidents of nature. They believed

> il n'y a pas entre l'Européen et l'indigène du Sénégal de différence essentielle qui empêche ce dernier de profiter des avantages acquis par la civilisation occidentale. Les sociologues démontrent que les race africaines sont aptes au progrès et qu'ils n'y a aucune preuve de douter de leur facultés à cet égard.[12]
>
> [There are no significant differences between a European and an indigenous Senegalese person that would prevent the latter from profiting from advantages acquired from Western culture. Sociologists show that African races are suited for progress, and there is no proof that would question their faculties in this regard.]

Cloaked in this ideology is a sinister conviction of cultural supremacy that fueled the 1789 French Revolution and fostered a new French sociocultural braggadocio clearly articulated by Jules Michelet:

> …Le Français veut surtout imprimer sa personnalité aux vaincus, non comme sienne, mais comme type du bon et du beau; c'est sa croyance naïve. Il croit, lui, qu'il ne peut rien faire de plus profitable au monde que de lui donner ses idées, ses moeurs et ses modes. Il y convertira les autres peuples l'épée à la main, et, après le combat, moitié fatuité, moitié sympathie, il leur exposera tout se qu'ils gagnent à devenir Français.…celui qui veut invariablement faire le monde à son image, finira par y parvenir.[13]
>
> […The French person desires above all to imprint his personality on the vanquished, not like his, but like the quintessence of the good and the beautiful type; this is his naive conviction. He believes that he can do nothing that would benefit the world more than to give it his ideas, customs, and manners. He will convert other peoples to these ways, sword in hand, and after the battle, extremely self-conceited and sympathetic, he will show them all that they gain by becoming French…whoever wants invariably to create the world in his image, would succeed.]

---

[12] Georges Péter, *L'Effort Français au Sénégal* (LEFAR; Toulouse, FR: Imprimerie F. Boisseau, 1933), 201. My translation.

[13] Jules Michelet, *Autobiographie: Introduction a L'historie Universelle* (Paris: Bibliothèque Larousse, 1930), 221. My translation. See also Janet G. Vaillant, *Black, French, and African: A Life of Léopold Sédar Senghor* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990), 37–39, who discusses French self-understanding as colonists and how such a perspective was entrenched in the thoughts of most Europeans, especially English colonists.

Closely linked to this "*gallicizing*" or "*Frenchifying*"[14] mission is France's appeal to a divine mandate for its actions at home and abroad and a claim to a superior culture and religious knowledge:

> Le christianisme a constitué l'homme moral; il a posé dans l'égalité devant Dieu un principe qui devait plus tard trouver dans le monde civil une application féconde…Si le sens social doit nous ramener à la religion, l'organe de cette révélation nouvelle, l'interprète entre Dieu et l'homme, doit être le peuple social entre tous. Le monde moral eut son Verbe dans le christianisme, fils de la Judée…la France expliquera le Verbe du monde social que nous voyons commencer…c'est à la France qu'il appartient et de faire éclater cette révélation nouvelle et de l'expliquer. Toute solution sociale ou intellectuelle reste inféconde pour l'Europe, jusqu'à ce que la France l'ait interprétée, traduite, popularisée.[15]
>
> [Christianity formed the moral person and set a principle of equality before God that would later have a fruitful application in the secular world…If the social sense would lead us to religion, the agency of this new revelation, the interpreter between God and humanity, would be the social people among us. The moral world has its Verb in Christianity, child of Judea…France will explain the Verb to the social world that we are seeing begin…It is France's duty to spread this new revelation and to explain it. Every social or intellectual solution remains unfruitful for Europe, until France has interpreted, translated, and popularized it.

Consequently, "religion and civilization were inextricably mingled within the context of Christianity"[16] to the extent that "the seminary

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[14] For this terminology, see Jane Goldie, *Harrap's Shorter Dictionnaire: Anglais-Français/Français-Anglais* (France: Harrap Books Limited, 1993), 352. Strikingly, Michelet uses the rubric of turning other nations into French. He claims that France will Frenchify other nations: "francisa les autres nations. Action, réaction; absorption, réabsorption, voila le mouvement alternatif d'un organisme" "Action, reaction; absorption, reabsorption, this is the alternative movement of an organism." The above words enshrine the making of French nationalism that justified the nation's colonial imperialism for centuries (Michelet, *Autobiographie*, 22–21). My translation.

[15] Michelet, *Autobiographie*, 231–32. See Delavignette's discussion of the duality that plagued Catholic missionaries in being colonists as well as God's messengers for the creation of Christian communities free from colonial trappings (Delavignette, *Christianity*, 63–87).

[16] Robert Delavignette, *Freedom and Authority in French West Africa* (London: Frank Cass and Company Limited, 1950), 94. In 1659, Christian missions were not linked to colonization. Missionaries were to spread Christianity without changing or abolishing the customs and religious rituals of their prospective converts. Pope Gregory XV, in his Bull *Inscrutabili Divinae* (1659), specifically talks about the apostolic mandate to spread the gospel to all people and to "never make comparisons between the usages of these peoples and those of Europe; on the contrary, make haste to accustom yourself to them" (Delavignette, *Christianity*, 59). Unfortunately, his instructions would be set aside later.

of the Holy Ghost fathers was called 'the colonial seminary'."[17] This seminary was authorized by Louis XIV and legalized by Louis XV on May 2, 1726 to train priests for French colonies. In December. 1764 the cardinal of Fleury decreed, "*que le séminaire du Saint-Esprit serait désormais l'intermédiaire obligé entre le gouvernement et le Saint-Siège, pour fournir aux colonies françaises des religieux aptes à évangéliser les pays infidèles*," ["that the seminary of the Holy-Spirit will, from now on, mediate between the government and the Holy-Center in order to provide French colonies with religious people apt to evangelize infidel countries."][18]

Hence the colonists arrived in Senegal convinced that their *oeuvre civilisatrice*, "civilizing work," also known as la paix Française or "the peace of France"[19] was or should be the universal civilization, and the portal through which western civilization would be accessible to Africa and Christianity universalized. Aimé Césaire blames this ideology on "Christian pedantry, which laid down the dishonest equations Christianity = civilization, paganism = savagery…"[20] This merger

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[17] Delavignette, *Christianity*, 69. The Catholic missionary overseas viewed him/herself as a representative of his/her country and "would consider it filial impiety not to accept the colonial ideology of his country and his age. Never was it more tempting to confuse colonization with civilization" (Delavignette, *Christianity*, 71). On the colonial seminary, see Beslier, *Le Sénégal*, 97, 115.

[18] Fleury's words are quoted by Beslier, *Le Sénégal*, 77n.1. These were the first missionaries sent to the Northern part of Senegal and later to the South in Diola communities. The italics are Beslier's. Geneviève Lecuir Nemo, *Mission et colonisation: Saint Joseph De Cluny: La première Congrégation de femmes au Sénégal de 1819 à 1904*; Memoire de Maîtrise, Université de Paris I, October 1985, 35. Mère Anne-Marie Javouhey was part of the colonial effort in Senegal; a letter she sent to Paris evokes how she felt toward Senegalese people. Beslier concurs with this vision insisting that: "La civilisation chrétienne était en bonne voie. Mais les prêtres formés par le séminaire colonial du Saint-Esprit, pionniers de cette civilisation, étaient trop peu nombreux pour christianiser la terre d'Afrique qui s'ouvrait à leurs efforts. La fondation d'un Institut missionnaire spécialement destine à instruire les noires d' un bout à l' autre des Guinées,…était nécessaire à cette grand entreprise." ["Christian civilization was on the right track. But priests trained by the colonial seminary of the Holy Ghosts, pioneers of this civilization, were not numerous enough to Christianize the land of Africa that was opening to their efforts. The founding of a missionary Institute especially destined for the education of blacks from one end of Guinea to another,…was necessary to this enterprise."] (Beslier, *Le Sénégal*, 115). My translation.

[19] Michael Crowder, *Senegal: A Study in French Assimilation Policy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1962), 2; Niang, "Postcolonial Theology," 322.

[20] Aimé Césaire, *Discourse on Colonialism* (trans. Joan Pinkham; New York: Monthly Review Press, 1972), 33. Césaire finds the colonial equations ironic because, instead of creating civilization, the brutal savagery of colonialism led to the decivilization of the colonists. In other words, any promise of civilization through colonization produces the opposite (31–46).

between Christianity and French civilization gave rise to a serious hermeneutical flaw when the French met the Diola—an encounter that turned the Good News of ἐλευθερίαν…ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ "freedom…in Christ" (Gal 2:4; 3:28) into *news of terror* for the Diola of Senegal. Just as Romans had deemed the ancient Celts and Gauls/Galatians second-class citizens, French colonists viewed Diola socio-religious and cultural traditions as inferior, barbaric, idolatrous, and superstitious.[21] Just as the Gauls/Galatians were compelled (ἀναγκάζω) to become *Judaized* (Ἰουδαϊκῶς, ἰουδαΐζειν) by those who opposed Paul, so too Diola people were forced to *Frenchify* by French colonists.

Instead of being regarded with equality in Christ (Gal 3:28), the Diola were characterized by French as inferior fickle beasts whose bibulousness often led to fatal feuds over property disputes.[22] It is in contrast to such Roman and French dehumanizing hegemony that the Apostle Paul characterized himself as a countercolonist *par excellence*. Surely Paul quite deliberately chose to preach in Athens rather than some more minor and symbolically less central Greek city (1 Thess 3:1; Acts 17:16–34), identified himself as Judean, as a citizen of Tarsus in Cilicia (Acts 21:39), and as a Roman citizen by birth (Acts 22:28)—a status he inherited "from a former generation in his family who had received it as freed Judean slaves."[23] The idea of sociocultural and spiritual

[21] Peter Mark, "Fetishers, 'Marybukes' and the Christian Norm: European Images of Senegambians and Their Religions, 1550–1760," *ASR* 23/2 (Sept., 1980): 95–7. Parallel depictions of the Celts/Gauls are recorded in Polybius, Caesar, Plutarch. See Beslier who describes the Diola as being depraved people. He writes, "Les superstitions et les pratiques occultes compliquaient à l' envie la situation morale des indigènes. La mort appelait par surcroît la vengeance. Celui qui était soupçonné d' avoir 'tué' le défunt, c' est à dire d' avoir mangé son âme était soumis au jugement du féticheur, qui lui faisait absorber du poison, mélange de venin de serpent et de déchets de cadavres." [Superstitious and occult practices complicated the moral situation of indigenous people. Death called for extra vengeance. Whoever was suspected to have killed the deceased, namely to have eaten his/her soul was put to the judgment of the priest-king, who would have the culprit drink poison mixed with snake venom and cadaver remains] (Beslier, *Le Sénégal*, 123). The history of these denigrating stereotypes reaches as far as the pre-Enlightenment era. I will discuss those depictions of Diola religion in the next chapter.

[22] Christian Roche, *Histoire de La Casamance*: *Conquête et résistance: 1850–1920* (Paris: Editions Karthala, 1985), 32–33.

[23] Udo Schnelle, *Paulus: Leben und Denken* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2003), 46, 44–56 = *The Apostle Paul: His Life and Theology* (trans. M. Eugene Boring; Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2005), 62, 60–69. Paul's experiences of the cross (Gal 1:12) in the worlds in which he was born, lived, traveled, preached, and died (Phil 3:4–5), gave rise to his countercolonizing message that led to a sociocultural and spiritual consciousness

consciousness raises serious questions about cultural identity: Which is more important? What inherent rights and responsibilities come with each? Paul clearly understood that the gospel message is about breaking down social boundaries, dismantling taboos, and overthrowing and challenging human institutions and cultures that dehumanize people. So it is that in this book I read Galatians 2:11–14 and 3:26–29 from a social science and postcolonial perspective and conclude that Paul was both a countercolonist and a sociopostcolonial hermeneut.

Paul as a Sociopostcolonial Hermeneut

Dominant Perspectives on Paul

The Apostle Paul is a countercolonist *par excellence* whose message of faith many biblical interpreters cast into a sociopostcolonial hermeneutics that upholds faith in Christ as a conceptual metaphor through which communities are made, shaped, and freed. Pauline scholarship on Galatians has been marked by two dominant perspectives: Luther's and what is called the *New Perspective on Paul*. The former understands Paul to have had a negative view of the law in response to the Judaism of his day because of its works-righteousness.[24] Yet E. P. Sanders challenges this reading, insisting that Palestinian Judaism was defined

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that sets the stage for a decolonization. It frees by empowering the colonized to reclaim their true and equal human status and identity in God (Gal 2:11–14 and 3:26–29).

[24] Martin Luther, *Luther's Works: Lectures On Galatians 1535* Chapters 1–4 (vol. 26; trans. and ed. Jaroslav Pelikan; Saint Louis. MO: Concordia Publishing House, 1963), 4–12. In contrast to the righteousness by faith which is "passive" involving belief in God's grace, righteousness by works is "active" with an emphasis on "doing." Luther's Paul sent his epistle to the churches of Galatia "to defend the righteousness that comes from faith and to refute the law and the righteousness that comes by works" (Luther, *Lectures on Galatians*, 21). A reliance on works is a misuse of the law—an action that denies grace which is the sin of "idolatry and blasphemy against God" (ibid., 253–4). In other words, the role of the law is to lead sinners to Christ (ibid., 348). Rudolf Bultmann, "ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣΥΝΗ ΘΕΟΥ," *JBL* 83(1964): 12–16. In this article, Bultmann reiterates Luther's position. Idem, *Theology of the New Testament* (trans. K. Grobel; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1951, 1955), 1:264. Bultmann is convinced that the person's "effort to achieve his salvation by keeping the law only leads him into sin, indeed this effort itself in the end is already sin." See also Ernst Käsemann, *Perspectives on Paul* (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press, 1971). For more details on the Reformers' perspective on Paul, see Francis Watson, *Paul, Judaism and the Gentiles: A Sociological Approach* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 1–18.

by a *covenantal nomism*[25] in which one enters the community of God's people by grace and remains "by obeying the law."[26] Sequels of these debates gave rise to assiduous hermeneutical inquiries that either aim at retrieving the center of Paul's theology[27] or delving into his life and thought in his own diaspora setting of the Graeco-Roman world.[28] The result has been an increasing awareness of the socioreligious diversity

[25] E. P. Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism: A Comparison of Patterns of Religion* (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press, 1977), 447–542; idem, *Paul, the Law and the Jewish People* (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press, 1983); James D. G. Dunn, ed. *Paul and the Mosaic Law* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2001). Sanders' argument brings George Foot Moore's discussion of Paul to its ultimate conclusion (see George Foot Moore, *Judaism: In the First Centuries of the Christian Era: The Age of Tannaim* (vols. II and III; Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1960), 150–1. See also W. D. Davies, *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism: Some Rabbinic Elements in Pauline Theology* (Mifflintown, PA: Sigler Press, 1998), 1–16. Paul is said to have "a 'Christifying' of the Torah and *ipso facto* a 'spiritualizing' of it" (323).

[26] Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian*, 17–18. According to Sanders, law observance is an outward expression of one's loyalty to covenant membership. Ibid., 16–17, 204–5; Watson, *Paul, Judaism*, 1–18. Furthermore, acts of "getting in" and "staying in" are crucial sociological categories that allow covenantal nomism advocates to argue that Paul was taken up with some aspects of the law such as "identity and boundary markers"—laws governing food and circumcision [James D. G. Dunn, *Jesus, Paul, and the Law*: *Studies in Mark and Galatians* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 1990)].

[27] Jouette M. Bassler, ed., *Pauline Theology: Volume I: Thessalonians, Philippians, Galatians, Philemon* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1991); David M. Hay, ed., *Pauline Theology: Volume II: 1 and 2 Corinthians* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1993; David M. Hay and E. Elizabeth Johnson, ed., *Pauline Theology: Volume III: Romans* (Minneapolis, MN; Fortress Press, 1995; E. Elizabeth Johnson and David M. Hay, ed., *Pauline Theology: Volume IV: Looking Back, Pressing On* (SBL; Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1997); and Schnelle, *Paulus: Leben und Denken*. See also J. Christiaan Becker, *Paul the Apostle: The Triumph of God in Life and Thought* (Philadelphia: PA: Fortress Press, 1980); James D. G. Dunn, *The Theology of Paul the Apostle* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1998). The last volume published by Pauline scholars (SBL) concluded with Paul W. Meyer's proposal for a halt of the entire project in order to reflect on new possibilities that Pauline and Deutero-Pauline texts might yield [Paul W. Meyer, "Pauline Theology: A Proposal for a Pause in Its Pursuit," in *Pauline Theology: Volume IV: Looking Back, Pressing On* (SBL; ed. E. Elizabeth Johnson and David M. Hay, Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1997), 140–60. For responses to this proposal, see Victor Paul Furnish, "Where is 'the Truth' in Paul's Gospel," in *Pauline Theology: Volume IV: Looking Back, Pressing On* (SBL; ed. E. Elizabeth Johnson and David M. Hay, Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1997), 161–77].

[28] See the collections of significant essays in Troels Engberg-Pedersen, ed., *Paul in His Hellenistic Context* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1995); idem, *Paul Beyond the Judaism/Hellenism Divide* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2001); J. Paul Sampley, ed., *Paul in the Greco-Roman World: A Handbook* (New York: Trinity Press International, 2003).

of Second Temple Judaism—"a vigorously heterogeneous, diversified phenomenon."[29]

Various trends of Judaism interpreted and applied ancestral traditions in different ways, leading some scholars to argue that Paul polemicized against a synergistic anthropocentrism that advocated human "self-sufficiency" rather than dependence on "divine grace."[30] The Judaism of Paul's day was nothing short of a socioreligious polyphony.[31] Striking in the above mentioned debates is the deafening silence of commentators on the socioreligious context of Paul's addressees: the Gauls/Galatians. They are often mentioned simply in passing, as if they were not the recipients of the epistle, the reasons for it being written.

Beyond the Perspectives on Paul

Debates between the Reformers, their followers, and advocates of the *New Perspective* are largely confined to Paul's attitude toward the law and resulting conflicts with his so-called opponents.[32] In his autobiography, Paul reminds his Galatian converts that τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τὸ εὐαγγελισθὲν ὑπ᾽ ἐμοῦ ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν κατὰ ἄνθρωπον· . . . ὅτι καθ᾽ ὑπερβολὴν ἐδίωκον τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἐπόρθουν αὐτήν, "the gospel that was proclaimed by me is not of human origin . . . I was violently persecuting

[29] James A. Sanders, *From Sacred Story to Sacred Text: Canon as Paradigm* (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press, 1987), 45, 43–60. See also Oskar Skarsaune, *In the Shadow of the Temple: Jewish Influences on Early Christianity* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2002), 103–207; Robert A. Kraft and George W. E. Nickelsburg, eds., *Early Judaism and Its Modern Interpreters* (SBL; Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1986). For further detail on the diverse nature of Judaism, see Frederick J. Murphy, *Early Judaism: The Exile to the Time of Jesus* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 2002); Larry R. Helyer, *Exploring Jewish Literature of the Second Temple Period: A Guide for New Testament Students* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2002).

[30] Charles H. Talbert, "Paul, Judaism and the Revisionists," *CBQ* 63(2001): 1–22. This article offers the most succinct and clear presentation of main views on Paul I have ever read. I take this up in great detail in the next chapter. For discussion on Pauline anthropology see Timo Eskola, "Paul, Predestination and 'Covenantal Nomism'—Re-assessing Paul and Palestinian Judaism," *JSJ* 28(1997): 390–412 and Timo Laato, *Paul and Judaism: An Anthropological Approach* (SFSHJ 115; trans. T. McElwain; Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1995).

[31] Sanders, *From Sacred Story*, 43–60.

[32] Dieter Georgi, *Opponents of Paul in Second Corinthians* (Philadelphia, PA; Fortress Press, 1986). Gerd Lüdemann, *Opposition to Paul in Jewish Christianity* (trans. M. Eugene Boring; Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1989), offers a crucial discussion on the identity of Paul's opponents from Pauline to post-Pauline literature. A recent work on the subject deals with the diversity of Paul's opponents from the evidence that his letters yield [Jerry L. Sumney, "*'Servants of Satan' 'False Brothers' and Other Opponents of Paul*" (JSNTSup 188; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999)].

the church of God and was trying to destroy it" (Gal 1:11, 13). He was not only advancing (προκόπτω) beyond his peers, περισσοτέρως ζηλωτὴς, he was "more zealous" (τῶν πατρικῶν μου παραδόσεων) for his "ancestral traditions" (Gal 1:14).[33] The ancestral traditions to which Paul is referring are enshrined in the Torah which is central to his arguments; as Francis Watson rightly argues, he is an interpreter of scripture in conversation with his fellow Judean interpreters as well as Galatian converts.[34]

In certain ways Paul's complex socioreligious world in which scripture was read and appropriated is not much different from that of twenty-first century reading communities. Leo G. Perdue has rightly argued that Old Testament theology is breaking away from the shackles of the historical critical method to new hermeneutical approaches initiated by reading communities at the margins. A constructive hermeneutical consciousness that refuses to be enslaved by the rigid tenets of historical criticism characterizes resulting readings.[35]

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[33] Paul offers his Philippian readers the following autobiographical note saying that he was περιτομῇ ὀκταήμερος, ἐκ γένους Ἰσραήλ, φυλῆς Βενιαμίν, Ἑβραῖος ἐξ Ἑβραίων, κατὰ νόμον Φαρισαῖος, κατὰ ζῆλος διώκων τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, κατὰ δικαιοσύνην τὴν ἐν νόμῳ γενόμενος ἄμεμπτος "circumcised on the eighth day, of the nation of Israel, the tribe of Benjamin, a Hebrew of Hebrews, according to the law a Pharisee, according to zeal persecuting the church, according to righteousness in the law being blameless" (Phil 3:5–6).

[34] Francis Watson, *Paul and the Hermeneutics of Faith* (New York: T & T Clark International, 2004), 1, 276–281, 506. This view of Paul is an indispensable approach to Pauline hermeneutics. See also Calvin Roetzel, *The Letters of Paul: Conversations in Context* (4th ed.; Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 1998); idem, *Paul: The Man and the Myth* (South Carolina: University of South Carolina Press, 1998), 2–7. Roetzel's work reminds modern readers of significant dimensions of Paul's life and thought. Paul, he insists, should not be frozen in one cultural context; rather, Paul was fully conversant with his Jewish and Hellenistic worlds. Janice Capel Anderson, Philip Sellew, and Claudia Setzer, *Pauline Conversations in Context: Essays in Honor of Calvin J. Roetzel* (JSNTSup 221; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002). However, often in Pauline scholarship, the tendency has been to overemphasize one aspect of Paul's context at the expense of the other [see Abraham J. Malherbe, *Paul and the Popular Philosophers* (Minneapolis, MN; Fortress Press, 1989); Troels Engberg-Pedersen, *Paul and the Stoics* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2000); Mark D. Nanos, ed., *The Galatians Debate: Contemporary Issues in Rhetorical and Historical Interpretation* (Peabody, MA; Hendrickson Publishers, 2002); idem, *The Irony of Galatians: Paul's Letter in the First-Century Context* (Minneapolis, MN; Fortress Press, 2002).

[35] Leo G. Perdue, *The Collapse of History: Reconstructing Old Testament Theology* (OBT; Minneapolis, MN; Fortress Press, 1994) and Walter Brueggemann, *Theology of the Old Testament: Testimony, Dispute, Advocacy* (Minneapolis, MN; Fortress Press, 1997), xv–xviii, 1–114. Perdue does not pronounce the death of the historical critical method; rather, he is talking about its crisis (*Collapse*, 3–15), that would force its practitioners to hear

> The meaning of the Bible is no longer buried in the graves of the dead who shaped ancient civilizations that formed the written texts, but now is to be situated—at least to some extent, if not, as some would argue, completely—within the myriad of interpreters with their vast networks of multiple social, sexual, gender, ethnic, and postcolonial milieus. Uniformity of meaning, once a cherished and nurtured yet highly utopian dream, has been blown by the winds of differentiated and conflicting possibilities into many situations and numerous ways of knowing and being.[36]

Walter Brueggemann concurs with Perdue, insisting that this shift from "'assured results' of the critical consensus of scholarship" to the plurality of methodologies and interpretive communities gives rise to fresh endeavors away from dominant approaches to Old Testament theology.[37] The verbal, nominal, and adjectival syntax of the text of the Hebrew Bible reflects an odd tension that juxtaposes Israel's "core testimony" of Yahweh's faithfulness and reliable governance with "countertestimony" of divine "*ambiguity*," unreliability and "*negativity*"—an interplay of testimonies that makes a shift in biblical interpretation inevitable.[38] To embrace one testimony rather than another is to distort the biblical record and misinterpret the crucial dialectic of faith that presents God as "*a character who has a profound disjunction at the core of the Subject's life.*"[39]

The dialectical tensions inherent in the textual traditions of the Hebrew Bible are also characteristic of the New Testament texts and faith with respect to how Paul reads and understands the Torah. According to Watson, "*Paul and his fellow-Jews read the same scriptural texts, the Torah and the prophets*" to configure their world—a reality held in

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emerging hermeneuts from marginalized cultures and communities of the "Two-Thirds World" (*Collapse*, 4–5).

[36] Leo G. Perdue, *Reconstructing Old Testament Theology: After the Collapse of History* (OBT; Minneapolis, MN; Fortress Press, 2005), 3.

[37] Brueggemann, *Theology*, xv, xv–xvi.

[38] Brueggemann, *Theology*, 318. Brueggemann' s avoidance of the pitfalls of the historical critical method forced him to reduce divine revelation to Israel's rhetoric about God; namely, in Israel's speech. He has been rightly critiqued for advocating endless dialogues between communities of faith. At some point dialogue must yield to a life guided by decisive faithful actions (Leo G. Perdue, review of Walter Brueggemann, *Theology of the Old Testament: Testimony, Dispute, Advocacy*, *Christian Century* 115/16 (May 20–27, 1998), 8.

[39] Brueggemann, *Theology*, 268. The italics are Brueggermann's. The tension between testimony and countertestimony "belongs to the very character and substance of Old Testament faith, a tension that precludes and resists resolution" (Brueggemann, *Theology*, 400).

tension by an interplay between world and text.[40] Paul, he continues, is a reader who interprets scripture intertextually and cites selected texts

> on the basis of a radical construal of the normative shape of the Pentateuch as a whole, highlighting and exploiting tensions between Genesis and Exodus, Leviticus and Deuteronomy. Many of the apparent contradictions within Paul's "view of the law" in fact originate within the pentateuchal texts themselves, at least as Paul reads them.[41]

In his dialogue with competing voices of the Old Testament and those of his fellow hermeneuts, Paul finds compelling the promissory prophetic voice of Habakkuk (Hab 2:4) for his apostolic hermeneutical discourse in which soteriology is a function of christology and ecclesiology.[42] It is the intense interactions between scripture and socioreligious convictions which causes the rise of marginal voices which destabilize "the dominant paradigm of historical criticism"[43] and which, in turn, yield alternative hermeneutics.

Paul, therefore, was not only in dialogue with Judean traditions which maintain unresolved tensions; he was also conversant with those of the Galatians and with his contemporary socioreligious traditions. His hermeneutical discourse counters colonial discourses by creating new typologies that better describe members of his communities (Gal 2:11–15; 3:27–29). In other words, Paul counters imperialistic and colonial tendencies to Hellenize, Romanize, Judaize, and Frenchify. Thanks to their sociopostcolonial horizons, these interactions between different interpreting communities raise profound hermeneutical questions.

Insights from Social Sciences: A Concise History

The flowering of social-scientific criticism as a sub-field of biblical studies in the early 1970s owes its inception to nineteenth-century

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[40] Watson, *Paul and the Hermeneutics*, 1. Although Watson believes the act of interpreting texts is a dynamic task, he has been faulted for speaking of Paul's reading of the Hebrew Bible in terms of "plain or literal sense." The reviewer's contention is actually the point Watson is making about Paul's interpretation of the Hebrew Bible [see Mark Gignilliat, review of Francis Watson, *Paul and the Hermeneutics of Faith*, *RBL* (May 2005): 4].

[41] Watson, *Paul and the Hermeneutics*, 3.

[42] Watson, *Paul and the Hermeneutics*, 3–29.

[43] Perdue, *The Collapse*, 4.

scholarship, and especially to the work of Max Weber.[44] Weber's application of Marxist theory led to the conclusion that change was a function of socioeconomic and political realities that governed the Israelite community.[45] Norman Gottwald has since re-conceptualized these conclusions, insisting that Yahweh was the pervasive force regulating Israel's egalitarian socioreligious world and was experienced as an accessible deity.[46] Since faith in Yahweh is an integral part of Israel's social experiences,

> the sociological contribution to biblical hermeneutics is that the Israelite traditions must not only be interpreted within their original matrices, but must be interpreted from out of the social matrix of the interpreter… [Therefore,] [sic] an adequate biblical hermeneutics will require the investigation of the evolution of social forms and systems from biblical times to the present![47]

Applying the same Marxist analysis to *New* Testament documents led to the idea that the earliest Christian communities were marked by sectarian movements arising from underprivileged classes, namely from proletarians and slaves.[48] Adolf Deissmann somewhat bolstered this conclusion positing that

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[44] Max Weber, *The Methodology of Social Sciences* (trans. and ed. Edward A. Shils and Henry A. Finch; Glencoe, IL: Free Press, 1949), 93. These changes led to what Weber characterizes as "Church-Sect." Norman K. Gottwald, "Sociology," *ABD* 6:79; Susan R. Garrett, "Sociology of Early Christianity," *ABD* 6:89. For details on Weber and his influencers, see Dale Martin, "Social-Scientific Criticism," *To Each Its Own Meaning*: *An Introduction to Biblical Criticisms and Their Application* (rev. and exp.; ed., Stephen L. McKenzie and Stephen R. Haynes; Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 1999), 125.

[45] Weber, *Methodology*, 93.

[46] Norman Gottwald, *The Tribes of Yahweh: A Sociology of the Religion of Liberated Israel, 1250–1050 BCE* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 667–709. Yahweh, in this case, is the God who fights with tribal Israel against centralized government. Agreeably Israel's socioreligious experience of Yahweh is "not simply a descriptive counterpart to a social reality, but a powerful set of symbols which evoke, initiate, and energize, as well as legitimate" [Walter Brueggemann, review of Norman K. Gottwald, *The Tribes of Yahweh: A Sociology of the Religion of Liberated Israel*, *JAAR* 48/3(Sept., 1980): 449]. Erhard S. Gerstenberger, *Theologies in the Old Testament* (trans. John Bowden; Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2002), 163, looks at Israelite religion in terms of the socioreligious significance of tribal life in conflict with monarchical monopoly.

[47] Norman K. Gottwald, "Sociological Method in the Study of Ancient Israel," *The Bible and Liberation: Political and Social Hermeneutics* (ed. Norman K. Gottwald; New York: Orbis Books, 1989), 35–6.

[48] Karl Kautsky, *Der Ursprung des Christentums: Eine historische Untersuchung* (Stuttgart: J. H. W. Dietz Nachfolger, 1910), 338–70. He views Christianity as a fighting organization which arose from Judaism adopting elements such as monotheism, resurrection,

> die soziale Struktur des Urchristentums weist uns durchaus in die unteren und in die mittleren Schichten. Nur ganz spärlich sind am Anfang die Beziehungen zu den oberen Schichten. Jesus von Nazareth war Zimmermann, Paulus von Tarsos Zeltmacher, und das Wort des Zeltmacher über die Herkunft seiner Gemeinden aus den Unterschichten der Großstädte gehört zu den historisch bedeutsamsten Selbstzeugnissen des Urchristentums. . . . Zur antiken Hochkultur stand das Urchristentum in einem natürlichen Gegensatz, nicht erst als Christentum, sondern schon als Bewegung der Unterschichten.[49]

Even though these conclusions have gained much resonance with New Testament scholars, the lack of consensus among social science practitioners[50] is a result of the models or categories they use.[51] That being the case, I would argue for a shift from characterizing Pauline Christianity as a mere sectarian movement to conceiving it as an inclusive movement with sociopostcolonial concerns.

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and communism. I prefer to characterize this early movement as a debate among Judeans (Christians and non-Christians).

[49] Adolf Deissmann, *Licht vom Osten: Das Neue Testament und die neuentdeckten Texte der hellenistisch-römischen Welt* (4th ed.; Tübingen: Mohr, 1923), 6–7 = *Light From the Ancient East: The New Testament Illustrated by Recently Discovered Texts of the Graeco-Roman World* (trans. Lionel R. M. Strachan; Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1995), 7–9. ["The social structure of early Christianity certainly points us to the lower and middle classes. In the beginning, Christianity's connection to the upper classes are quite tenuous. Jesus of Nazareth was a carpenter, Paul of Tarsus a tentmaker, and the tentmaker's statement about the origin of his churches being from among the lower classes of the big cities are among the most important historical testimonies of early Christianity. . . . Early Christianity was a natural contrast to the high culture of the ancient world, not so much because it was Christianity, but because it was a movement of the lower classes."] (My translation.) He nevertheless complains about overdrawn generalizations that tend to collapse the upper class with the remaining segments of society. For critical assessments of Deissmann's argument see Abraham J. Malherbe, *Social Aspects of Early Christianity* (2nd ed.; Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press, 1983), 37–41. See also Justin J. Meggitt, "Response to Martin and Theissen," *JSNT* 84(2001): 85–95 and David L. Balch, "Rich Pompeiian Houses, Shops for Rent, and the Huge Apartment Building in Herculaneum as Typical Space for Pauline House Churches," *JSNT* 27/1(2004): 27–46, on the socially mixed nature of Pauline churches.

[50] Martin, "Social-Scientific Criticism," 125. Descriptions range from "social historians," social-scientific critics, cultural anthropologists or ethnographers.

[51] Vernon K. Robbins "Social-Scientific Criticism and Literary Studies: Prospects for Cooperation in Biblical Interpretation," in *Modeling Early Christianity: Social-Scientific Studies of the New Testament in its Context* (ed. Philip F. Esler; New York: Routledge, 1995), 274–89. For some fascinating examples of how social scientific models and categories are applied to the New Testament, see David G. Horrell, ed. *Social-Scientific Approaches to New Testament Interpretation* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1999) and Anthony J. Blasi, Jean Duhaime and Paul-André Turcotte, eds., *Handbook of Early Christianity: Social Science Approaches* (New York: Altamira Press, 2002).

Social Sciences and Galatians

Most social scientific investigations of Paul's epistle to the churches of Galatia explore themes of specific pericopae. For instance, John H. Elliott, Jerome H. Neyrey, and Susan Eastman insist that "fear of the Evil Eye" was a pervasive phenomenon in the ancient world—a socio-anthropological reality most commentators of the epistle overlook.[52] Others like Philip F. Esler, James D. G. Dunn, Paula Fredricksen, John Barclay, and Mark D. Nanos investigate Judean and non-Judean social interactions.[53] These scholars agree on the salient nature of socio-anthropological dimensions of nascent Christianity in Galatia.

Although Esler's sociological commentary remains the most comprehensive study,[54] major social scientific readings of Galatians have since appeared.[55] A crucial aspect of these studies has to do with the making of Galatian communities. Community formation, identity, and freedom are categories central to earliest Christians as they are to modern Christians. I will draw on two sociological models here: First, a significant sociological model is one that "investigates biblical texts as meaningful configurations of language intended to communicate

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[52] John H. Elliott, "Paul, Galatians, and the Evil Eye," *Cross Current in Theology and Mission* 17 (August 1990): 262–271, argues that the word βασκαίνω connotes the idea of "envy" and "to injure the Evil Eye" instead of "bewitched" as most English translations would have it. Like his contemporaries, Paul believed in malevolent forces ascribed to deities, animals, and people with disabilities such as himself. The implication is that Paul was countering the same charges of malevolence of which his opponents have accused him. Jerome H. Neyrey, "Bewitched in Galatia: Paul and Cultural Anthropology," *CBQ* 50(1988): 72–100. Like John Elliott, Neyrey laments the fact that socio-anthropological aspects of Paul's *Sitz im Leben* are ignored at the expense of theology. Susan Eastman, "The Evil Eye and the Curse of the Law: Galatians 3.1 Revisited," *JSNT* 83(2001): 69–87. She argues that Paul's converts learned that the curses recorded by the Deuteronomist are tantamount to the casting of the "evil eye" (Deut 28:53–57).

[53] Nanos, ed., *Galatians Debate*, 199–318. Philip F. Esler, "Making and Breaking an Agreement Mediterranean Style: A New Reading of Galatians 2:1–14," *BibInt* 3(1995): 285–314, is expanded in his *Galatians* (NTR; ed. John Court; New York: Routledge, 1998) and in Nanos, *Galatians Debate*, 261–81. See also, Nanos, *Irony* ; John M. G. Barclay, "'Neither Jew nor Greek': Multiculturalism and the New Perspective on Paul," in *Ethnicity and the Bible* (ed. Mark G. Brett; New York: E. J. Brill Publishers, 1996), 197–214; Philip F. Esler, "Group Boundaries and Intergroup Conflict in Galatians: A New Reading of Galatians 5:13–6:10," in *Ethnicity and the Bible* (ed. Mark G. Brett; New York: E. J. Brill Publishers, 1996), 215–240.

[54] Esler, *Galatians*, 93–140.

[55] Susan Elliott, *Cutting Too Close for Comfort: Paul's Letter to the Galatians in its Anatolian Cultic Context* (JSNTSup 248; New York: T & T Clark International, 2003); Atsuhiro Asano, *Community-Identity Construction in Galatians: Exegetical, Social-Anthropological and Socio-Historical Studies* (JSNTSup 285; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2005).

between composer and audiences."[56] The epistle communicates a poignant message designed to reaffirm and shape the identity of his Galatian converts in Christ.[57]

Like any religious movement originating from a parent religion, Christianity arose from Judaism and due to ensuing discords over the nature of grace, laws governing circumcision and foods, along with notions of human and cosmic transformation, it distanced itself from Judaism.[58] That being the case, for a Senegalese Diola hermeneut to bring this message to bear on his/her communal experiences, he/she would have to be attentive to the cultural distance between his/her communities and those of Galatia and France. This way of delving into the epistle to the churches of Galatia is what Esler calls "biblical interculturalism, a hermeneutics derived from social rather than philosophical sources,"[59] and what Bruce J. Malina and John J. Pilch refer to as a dialogue between "high context" and "low context" cultures.[60]

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[56] John H. Elliott, *What is Social-Scientific Criticism?* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1993), 7. Whether Social Scientific Criticism is a "*sub-discipline of exegesis*" or not is debated (Elliott, *What is*, 1). Idem, "Social-Scientific Criticism of the New Testament: More on Methods and Models," *Semeia* 35(1986): 1; idem, *A Home for the Homeless: A Sociological Exegesis of 1 Peter, Its Situation and Strategy* (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press, 1981). Contra John Elliott, Bruce J. Malina is convinced that the social scientific method is a self-contained discipline much like other disciplines that contribute to the historical critical method [Bruce Malina, "Reading Theory Perspective: Reading Luke-Acts," in *The Social World of Luke-Acts*: Models for Interpretation (ed. Jerome Neyrey; Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1991), 1–23]. I argue that Paul's message to the churches of Galatia is intricately linked to their socioreligious experiences and convictions.

[57] Esler, *Galatians*, 1–2; idem, *Community and Gospel in Luke-Acts: The Social and Political Motivations of Lucan Theology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 1–23. Esler offers crucial insights into how communication is used to shape group identities in the first-century Mediterranean world.

[58] Gerd Theissen, *Social Reality and the Early Christians: Theology, Ethics and the World of the New Testament* (trans. Margaret Kohl; Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1992), 202–27. Religious reform is often the result of internal discords which could lead to sectarianism (Esler, *Community and Gospel*, 16–21; Watson, *Paul, Judaism*, 19–20).

[59] Esler, *Galatians*, 4. Idem., *New Testament Theology: Communion and Community* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2005), 38–66.

[60] Bruce J. Malina and John J. Pilch, *Social-Science Commentary on the Letters of Paul* (Minneapolis, MN; Fortress Press, 2006), 5–9. Both authors argue that "high context culture" (such as first-century Mediterranean context) have a keen knowledge of elements and concepts embedded in their conversations missing in those of a "low level culture" (just as in modern and postmodern worlds dimensions of communication are missing leaving gaps to be filled). So, when Paul speaks of Jews and Gentiles, he does not have to say that he meant "Judeans" and "Everyone Else." They knew that in their Mediterranean context, one is either Greek (civilized) or barbarian (including Judeans). This is the argument Esler makes in his *Galatians*, 3–5. To bring the meaning of these communications to bear on our own context, an investigation into socio-anthropological

Language, Ludwig Wittgenstein reminds us, is a form of life that operates in a communal setting based on agreed principles that can be defined as *language games*—modes of communication ranging from giving and obeying orders, reporting on events, creating and reading a story, playacting, or, expressed succinctly, "Bitten, Danken, Fluchen, Grüssen, Beten."[61] A written communication therefore is a social phenomenon in which words convey what would otherwise have been spoken.[62] For instance, Paul reaffirms the identity of his addressees insisting that it is διὰ πίστεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ "through faith in Jesus Christ" that they were liberated from being compelled to *Judaize* (Gal 2:14, 16), from ethnic, class, and gender domination (Gal 3:28). The soteriological significance of their new faith has profound implications ushered in by καινὴ κτίσις, "a new creation,"[63]

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elements is necessary to clarify the gap between ancient authors and modern readers [Elliott, *What is Social-Scientific Criticism?* Malina, "Reading Theory," 1–23]. Crucial to this discipline is its salient function in safeguarding against the "twin pitfalls of ethnocentrism and anachronism" [Bruce J. Malina, "Social Sciences and Biblical Interpretation," *The Bible and Liberation: Political and Social Hermeneutics* (rev. ed.; ed. Norman K. Gottwald; New York: Orbis Books, 1989), 12; idem, *New Testament World: Insights from Cultural Anthropology* (3rd rev. ed.; Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2001), 7]. The conviction that "*all humans are entirely the same*,… *all humans are* entirely different…, and somewhat the same and somewhat different" should remind the reader of the intricacies involved in bringing ancient texts to bear on contemporary concerns (Malina, *New Testament World*, 8).

[61] Ludwig Wittgenstein, *Philosophical Investigations: German Text, with Revised English Translation* (3rd ed.; trans. G. E. Anscombe; Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2001), 10. See also 10ᵉ; 69–243, 492–693. Examples listed here are related to the Galatian socioreligious world. Idem, *On Certainty* (ed. G. E. M. Anscombe and G. H. von Wright; Oxford Blackwell Publishers, 1969), 61–5; 86–90; 94–5; 103–111; 286–88; 415–434, 559. In these sections he describes language as games based on not only inherited customs but also unquestioned certainties.

[62] Robbins, "Social-Scientific Criticism." Historical criticism implemented with social sciences make both methods crucial for the task of biblical interpretation because it is a heuristic tool indispensable for delving into sociolinguistic and cultural complexities that shaped biblical texts [Gottwald, "Sociological Method," 27; Elliott, *What is Social-Scientific Criticism?*, 107–9].

[63] *LSJM*, "κτίσις," 1003; BDAG, "κτίσις," 572–3. The term κτίσις denotes the act of creation (Rom 1:20), that which is created (Rom 1:25; 8:19–22, 9; Heb 4:13; 9:11; Col 1:15, 23; 2 Cor 5:17; Gal 6:15; 2 Peter 3:4; Mark 10:6; 13:19), authoritative "founding actions" and governance, colonization (in Greek literature). In the Hebrew Bible, κτίζω is "almost exclusively reserved" to God's creative act (בָּרָא). See also H. H. Esser, "κτίσις," *NIDNTT* 1:378–87. Of the sixty six occurrences in the LXX, sixteen translate בָּרָא (see W. Foerster, "κτίζω, κτίσις, κτίσμα, κτίστης," *TDNT* 3.1000–1035). The LXX however translates κτίζειν variably: בָּרָא (to create, he created or creates), יָסַד, יָצַר, כּוּן, עָמַד, קָנָה, and שָׂכַן. [See Hatch and Redpath, *CS*, 795].

(Gal 6:15; 2 Cor 5:17) in which the enslaving στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου, "elements of world,"[64] are abolished.

Second, the process of shaping spheres of existence is a "world-building" effort through which humans create and maintain their social worlds by way of "externalization, objectivation, and internalization."[65] Peter L. Berger argues that humans continuously engage in creating worlds and cultures in which they could live and interact (externalization); but these created worlds and cultures become objective realities acting back on their producers (objectivation)—a process that obliges them to re-assimilate these objective realities "into structures of the subjective consciousness" (internalization).[66] This project of cultural formation or "world construction" is an ordering of life experiences in which religion is a pertinent

> human enterprise by which a sacred cosmos is established. Put differently, religion is cosmization in a sacred mode. By sacred is meant here a quality of mysterious and awesome power, other than man and yet related to him which is believed to reside in certain objects of experience.[67]

The resulting sacred cosmos is transcendent and yet immanent as it shapes, confronts, and directs humans to a new theonomy against the

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[64] H. Balz, "κόσμος," *EDNT* 2:309. This term belongs to a broad semantic field and is variably used by classical, Hebrew Bible and New Testament writers. In this work, the term κόσμος will be discussed in conjunction with καινὴ κτίσις. Against J. Baumgarten who understands Paul's εἴ τις ἐν Χριστῷ, καινὴ κτίσις "if anyone is in Christ he/she is a new creation," only in anthropological terms (J. Baumgarten, "καινός," *EDNT* 2:229), this work argues that the expression καινὴ κτίσις (2 Cor 5:17; Gal 6:15) has anthropological and cosmic implications because Paul understands τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου to have affected human life as well as the cosmic realm (Gal 4:1–3). The Christ-event on the cross (Gal 3:10, 13) not only transforms but also moves those in Christ into a new theonomy. In Josephus, καιναὶ κτίσεις conveys the idea of "founding" or "constructing" of "new settlements" (Josephus, *Ant*, 1.52; 18.373; *J.W.* 4.533; 6.269, 408, 437, 441; see also κτίσις, κτίσμα, κτίστης in Rengstorf, *CCFJ*, 1.1087).

[65] Peter L. Berger, *The Sacred Canopy: Elements of a Social Theory of Religion* (New York: Anchor Books, 1967), 4, 3–28. Gerd Theißen, *Die Religion der ersten Christen: Eine Theorie des Urchristentums* (Germany: Gutersloher Verlagshaus, 1999), 1–18. Theißen argues that the narrative and descriptive approaches to the study of early Christianity betrays the sociological elements that were crucial to early Christians. He finds a confessional theological approach more effective.

[66] Berger, *Sacred Canopy*, 4, 13–19.

[67] Berger, *Sacred Canopy*, 25, 15–28. The sacred takes varying forms from one culture to another ranging from "particular customs or institutions. Space and time may be assigned the same quality, as in sacred localities and sacred seasons. The quality may finally be embodied in sacred beings, from highly localized spirits to the great cosmic divinities. The latter, in turn, may be transformed into ultimate forces or principles ruling the cosmos…"

powers of chaos from which it emerged. In the end, humans must maintain and legitimate the created world for it to be transmitted to future generations, the end result of which is a "symbolic universe" which regulates the boundaries and deportment of those who live in it.[68] A *symbolic universe* is a way in which groups of people define themselves and conceptualize their society. Such groups would likely define and distinguish themselves from each other using positive and negative typologies such as "superior" and "inferior."[69] Colonists often present their civilizations as superior and normative—a claim that to them justifies their colonization of those they consider inferior, primitive, and subhuman.[70]

Building on Robert E. Park's conclusions,[71] Everett Stonequist insists that a marginal or liminal person is one whose identity is divided by virtue of living between two different and conflicting worlds.[72] Such a marginal person would develop a sense of ambivalence, with "discords and harmonies, repulsions and attractions" arising form the subject's awareness that she or he does not fully belong to either of these two worlds.[73]

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[68] Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge* (Penguin: London, 1967), 110–46.

[69] Henry Tajfel, "Social Categorization, Social Identity and Social Comparison," in *Differentiation Between Social Groups: Studies in Social Psychology of Intergroup Relation* (ed. Henry Tajfel; New York: 1978), 61–76. This social configuration of reality is what Clifford Geertz refers to as a worldview [Clifford Geertz, "Ethos, World View, and the Analysis of Sacred Symbols," in *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essay* (London, Hutchinson, 1975), 126–41. Some scholars see this process as a "reform-movement" that culminates in sectarianism which is a form of world construction that calls for legitimation away from the dominant group bolstered through positive and negative labeling [Watson, *Paul, Judaism*, 19. See also Margaret MacDonald, *The Pauline Churches: A Socio-Historical Study of Institutionalization in the Pauline and Deutero-Pauline Writings* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 10–28]. MacDonald provides a detailed development of Pauline churches based on a sectarian model.

[70] The first French colonial administrators believed they were superior to Senegalese people. Beslier grudgingly complained that Senegalese people should be thankful because French culture civilized some of Senegalese people and built the country's infrastructure (Beslier, *Le Sénégal*, 221–222).

[71] Robert E. Park, "Human Migration and the Marginal Man," *AJS* 33/6(1928): 982. Park thinks a person interacting between cultures becomes a divided person: The "marginal man" in whose "mind…the moral turmoil which new cultural contacts occasion manifests in the most obvious forms…where the changes and fusions of culture are going on—that we can best study the process of civilization and of progress."

[72] Everett Stonequist, "The Problem of the Marginal Man," *AJS* 33(1935): 3. This analysis offers invaluable insight into the complex nature of how humans negotiate their identities between worlds.

[73] Everett Stonequist, *The Marginal Man: A Study in Personality and Cultural Conflict* (New York: Russell and Russell, 1961), 8, says that the liminal person is "poised in

I accept Stonequist's conclusion. But he fails to emphasize the role of dominant cultures in the making of liminality—a crucial dimension that on the other hand both Jung Young Lee and bell hooks articulate.[74] They hold that while the dominant culture determines who should participate in its social world, the life of the marginal person in the two worlds includes both positive and negative experiences.[75]

Strikingly, Lee and hooks reinterpret liminality as a product of conflicting worlds and of the spheres of resourcefulness and creativity.[76] I would argue that liminality as a world created by dominant cultures for those they deem inferior and uncivilized evokes a postcolonial condition. In other words, colonists assign marginality to the colonized: yet the colonized reinterpret theirs as a symbolic world, and reinterpret, reimagine, and reshape it into a world of endless possibilities—an axis "where we move in solidarity to ease the category colonized/colonizer."[77]

Postcolonial Contributions

Classical and Hellenistic Examples

In what ways does the message of the apostle Paul create and shape communities? Biblical interpreters believe Luke marshaled his "theme" through literary conventions shared by Graeco-Roman historiographers, conventions that seek to explain divine involvement in the κτίσις of

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psychological uncertainty between two (or more) social worlds; reflecting in his soul the discords and harmonies, repulsions and attractions of these worlds, one of which is often 'dominant' over the other; within which membership is implicitly if not explicitly based upon birth or ancestry (race or nationality); and where exclusion removes the individual from a system of group relations." See also Stonequist, "The Problem," 9–12.

[74] bell hooks, *Yearning: Race, Gender and Politics* (Boston, MA: South End Press, 1990), 145–53; Jung Young Lee, *Marginality: The Key to Multicultural Theology* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1995), 42–53.

[75] hooks, *Yearning*, quips, "I am located in the margin. I make a definite distinction between that marginality which is imposed by oppressive structures and that marginality one chooses as a site of resistance—as location of radical openness and possibility…we are transformed, individually, collectively, as we make radical creative space which affirms and sustains our subjectivity, which gives us a new location from which to articulate our sense of the world" (pages 145 and 153). Lee's "*in*-between" is similar to hooks' "location of radical openness and possibility" in that it leads liminal people "to a positive and self-affirming understanding of marginality '*in*-both' worlds (*Marginality*, 42). Stonequist argues that people at the margins either assimilate elements of the dominant group or resist violently by promoting nationalistic movements ("The Problem," 11).

[76] Lee, *Marginality*, 47; hooks, *Yearning*, 149.

[77] hooks, *Yearning*, 152.

their communities.[78] Ancient Greeks produced a mixture of historical, literary, mythical, and legendary texts to emphasize a divine approval for their colonial and imperial impulses.[79] Their descendants (post-classical Greeks) appropriated and construed these texts into κτίσις genres for their actual self-definition, legitimating their new colonial ambitions.[80] Colonization, they adduce, arises from some crisis (overpopulation, political insurrection, murder) resolved through a ritual consultation at Delphi[81] during which the culprit(s) is transformed from a political insurrectionist or murderer into a *hermeneut*[82] who, after interpreting the complex Delphic oracle, "is told by Apollo to found a colony in order to be ritually cleansed."[83] The complexity involved in this riddle-solving is

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[78] Walter T. Wilson, "Urban Legends: Acts 10:1–11:18 and the Strategies of Graeco-Roman Foundations Narratives," *JBL* 120/1(2001): 77–87. For a detailed study, see Gregory E. Sterling, *Historiography and Self-Definition: Josephos, Luke-Acts and Apologetic Historiography* (NovTSup 54; New York: Brill Academic Press, 1992), 387–89 and Carol Dougherty, "Archaic Greek Foundation Poetry: Questions of Genre and Occasion," *JHS* cxiv(1994): 35–46; David L. Balch, "ΜΕΤΑΒΟΛΗ ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΩΝ Jesus as Founder of the Church in Luke-Acts: Form and Function," in *Contextualing Acts: Luke's Narrative and Graeco-Roman Discourse* (ed. Todd Penner and Caroline Vander Stichele; Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003), 139–188.

[79] Irad Malkin, *Religion and Colonization in Ancient Greece* (SGRR 3; ed. H. S. van Straten; New York: Brill, 1987); Carol Dougherty, *The Poetics of Colonization: From City to Text in Archaic Greece* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 8, 31–34. See also Wilson, "Urban Legends," 80–1.

[80] Carol Dougherty, "Archaic Greek," 45; idem, *The Poetics*, 8, 31–34.

[81] Carol Dougherty, "It's Murder to Found a Colony," in *Cultural Poetics in Archaic Greece: Cult, Performance, Politics* (ed. Carol Dougherty and Leslie Kurke; New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 178–98. Although a detailed discussion of the *founding hermeneut* will be provided in the next chapters, it is important to note that Dougherty's thesis is that "the Greeks used Apollo and the purification process that murder demands as a conceptual analogy, a metaphor to describe colonization" (180).

[82] Dougherty, "Pindar's Second Paean," 207, opines that "Apollo is the divine sponsor of colonization; it is his oracles that sanctioned the majority of colonial endeavors in the archaic period. Oracles themselves figure prominently in colonial tales; their puzzles and solutions represent the colonial process as an act of interpretation." The emphases are mine and serve to explain henotheistic claims to divine mandate in colonial discourses in order to differentiate them from the Pauline pre-Christian life, conversion-call and his universal message of being in Christ. Strikingly, Luke's Paul was a persecutor and murderer [Σαῦλος δὲ ἦν συνευδοκῶν τῇ ἀναιρέσει αὐτοῦ (Acts 8:1); see also Acts 9:1–2, 4–7; 22:4–5; 26:9–11]. Of himself, Paul said, ἐδίωκον τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἐπόρθουν αὐτήν, (Gal 1:13–14; Phil 3:6a).

[83] Carol Dougherty, *The Poetics*, 8, 31–37. Dougherty illustrates her arguments by appealing to Plato (*Laws*, 708b, 735e–36a; 740e) who characterizes colonization as a way of purifying the city from political insurrection. Strabo records that "Orestes once took possession of Orestias—when in exile for the murder of his mother—and left the country bearing his name, it is also said that he founded a city and called it Argos Oresticum" (Strabo, *Geogr*. 7.7.8). Christine Sourvinou-Inwood, "Delphic Oracle," *OCD*, 445–6, discusses the role of the Delphic oracle in ancient Greek colonization. That the Delphi

indicative of its divine origin that legitimizes the colonizing act.[84] This means that later Greeks generated this creation/foundation genre to sanction their new Hellenistic colonial and imperialistic ambitions.[85]

Plato proudly posited that "sound and healthy was the spirit of freedom among us, and the φύσει μισοβάρβαρον, 'natural dislike of the barbarians', because we are pure Hellenes, having no admixture of barbarism in us" (Plato, *Menex.* 245d). So, ὅ τί περ ἂν Ἕλληνες βαρβάρων παραλάμβωσι, κάλλιον τοῦτο εἰς τέλος ἀπεργάζονται "whatever Greeks receive from barbarians, they transform this into a better end" (Plato, *Epin.* 987e). In sum, to the Greek colonists, their culture is the ideal civilization and everyone else is inferior and by nature barbaric. They saw themselves as divine agents to establish colonies and civilize barbarians.

A Roman Example

Ἑλληνισμός "Hellenization" and Romanization have similar rationales for colonization.[86] Greg Woolf depicts colonial/imperial Rome "as divinely sanctioned with the mission to civilize the barbarians."[87]

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oracle provides divine legitimation for colonial acts is well documented [Catherine A. Morgan, Simon Hornblower and Anthony J. S. Spawforth, "Delphi," *OCD*, 444–5; A. J. Graham, *Colony and Mother City in Ancient Greece* (Oxford: Manchester University Press, 1964); Arthur Stanley Pease, "Notes on the Delphic Oracle and Greek Colonization," *CP* XII(1917): 1–20; Malkin, *Religion and Colonization*; Lucia Athanassaki, "Transformations of Colonial Disruption into Narrative Continuity in Pindar's Epinician Odes," *HSCP* 101(2003): 93–128].

[84] Dougherty, *The Poetics*, 158–9. "The Delphic oracle is famous for its ambiguous language, in particular for riddles and puns, and the duality of a bilingual, etymological pun allows the Greek colonists to interpret local phenomena in Greek terms." Dougherty views intermarriage between colonist and colonized as a another way Greek colonists related to the colonized.

[85] Dougherty, "Archaic Greek," 45–6.

[86] Simon Hornblower, "Hellenism, Hellenization," *OCD*, 677–79. The verb ἑλληνίζειν, (to Hellenize) developed from its initial linguistic contextual use to a broader culture significance. During the Hellenistic period, the word stood for the spread of Greek culture. Whether non-Greek people were violently forced to adopt Greek culture during the onset of Hellenism is debated. The violence and repression associated with Hellenism was more evident during the Seleucid reign over the Palestinian world (2 Macc 4:13). For a helpful study of Hellenism, see Hans Dieter Betz, "Hellenisn," *ABD* 3:127–135; Thomas W. Martin, "Hellenists," *ABD* 3:135–6; F. W. Walbank, *The Hellenistic World* (rev. ed.; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992). See also Acts 6:1; 9:29. Stephen Mitchell, "Romanization," *OCD*, 1321–22. It is important to note that this similarity is limited. Hellenism is cultural whereas Romanization was not.

[87] Greg Woolf, "Beyond Romans and Natives," *World Archaeology* 28/3(1997): 1; idem, *Becoming Roman*, 48–76. Although Romans viewed their colonial efforts as a mission to

David L. Balch argues that Luke's "policy of receiving all nations" is similar to the Claudian "Romanization and not a Hellenization, of God's people"—a policy Luke exercised in countering charges that Paul altered Mosaic traditions.[88] Like assimilation or accommodation, this policy would enable Christians to endure hardship without jettisoning their Christian convictions.[89] Hellenism instilled in the Roman psyche "a growing consciousness that Romans were destined by the gods to conquer, rule and civilize the world."[90] This new colonial horizon appeals not to Delphian sending oracles but to providence and an appropriation of the idealized view of civilization. Pliny captures this conviction by saying that Rome,

> …chosen by the providence of the gods to make heaven itself more glorious, to unite scattered empires, to make manners gentle, to draw together in converse by community of language the jarring and uncouth tongues of so many nations, to give mankind civilization, and in a word to become throughout the world the single fatherland of all races.[91]

This belief would have profound consequences for the Gauls/Galatians as well as the entire world. We will see how in Senegal French colonists brought this claim to its ultimate conclusion to justify their colonial ambitions. The Apostle Paul claims a divine rationale for his mission to the Gentiles (Gal 1:11–12). Most scholars agree he stood in the traditions of the prophets Jeremiah and Isaiah.[92] Just as Greeks and Romans

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receive foreigners, the romanized did not all share equal status [Richard Alston, *Aspects of Roman History: AD 14–117* (New York: Routledge, 1998), 208–226].

[88] David Balch, "The Cultural Origin of 'Receiving all Nations' in Luke-Acts: Alexander the Great or Roman Policy?" in *Early Christianity and Classical Culture: Comparative Studies in Honor of Abraham J. Malherbe* (ed. John T. Fitzgerald et al.; Boston, MA: Brill, 2003), 500. Hellenization aimed at turning other people into Greeks; it was not impervious to other cultures. Rome and Luke, on the other hand, changed traditions with a view to include other people.

[89] David Balch, "Hellenization/Acculturation in 1 Peter," in *Perspectives on First Peter* (ed. C. H. Talbert; Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1986), 79–101.

[90] Woolf, *Becoming Roman*, 48.

[91] Pliny, *NH*, 3.5.39–42. Cicero thinks that Romans are the new agents for universal civilization, not in the same ways as the Greeks but through including barbarians (Cicero, *Ad Quintum fratren*, 1.1.27; idem, *De Republica*, 1.58). See Woolf, *Becoming Roman*, 54–60.

[92] J. Louis Martyn, *Galatians: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB; New York: Doubleday, 1997), 156–7; Hans Dieter Betz, *Galatians: A Commentary on Paul's Letter to the Churches in Galatia* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press, 1979), 69; Dieter Lührmann, *Galatians: A Continental Commentary* (trans. O. C. Dean; Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1978), 29. Ulrich Wilckens, "Die Bekehrung des Paulus als religionsgeschichtliches Problem," *Rechtfertigung als Freiheit: Paulusstudien* (Neukirchen-Vluyn:

esteemed their cultures, Paul, too, was proud of his Judean heritage (Phil 3:5; Rom 11:1; 2 Cor 11:22). He tells his Galatian churches that his unwavering zeal for the holiness of Israel led him to violently persecute the church (Phil 3:6; Gal 1:13, 23; 1 Cor 15:9).

Paul argues that God ἀφορίσας ("separated") and καλέσας ("called") him to εὐαγγελίζωμαι αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ("preach the Good News among non-Judeans") (Gal 1:15–17)—a new religious experience referred to as either a call[93] or conversion-call.[94] I wish to emphasize only his encounter with the risen Christ as the catalyst for his new self-understanding as apostle to non-Judeans (Gal 1:15–16). He, too, was sent by God—with a divine mandate to create communities.

A French Example

Appealing to the divine in order to justify colonization is not just an ancient practice, it is modern as well. Like the Greeks and the Romans, French people also claimed to have constructed and scrutinized their ancestors' experiences for their own present self-image and self-identification: The Gauls. To construct such an identity, Napoleon III ordered an excavation of three key Iron Age settlements[95] where Vercingetorix

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Neukirchen Verlag, 1974), 11–32. For Wilckens, Paul's call led to his break with Torah observation and sets the stage for his mission to the nations like the prophet Jeremiah (Jer 1:4–5 and Isa 49:1–6). Karl Olav Sandnes, *Paul—One of the Prophets? A Contribution to the Apostles' Self-Understanding* (WUNT 2; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr Siebeck, 1991), 5–76, insists that Paul's reminding his Galatian converts of his encounter with Christ on his way to Damascus often led to "defending of his apostolate against the charges which caused the *stasis*" (page 66).

[93] Krister Stendhal, *Paul Among Jews and Gentiles* (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press, 1976), 7. As far as his self-understanding, Paul insists ἀπέστειλέν με Χριστὸς βαπτίζειν ἀλλὰ εὐαγγελίζεσθαι, οὐκ ἐν σοφίᾳ λόγου, ἵνα μὴ κενωθῇ ὁ σταυρὸς τοῦ Χριστοῦ (1 Cor 1:17; Acts 14:4, 14). This is the prophetic function ("שָׁלַח," MT and LXX, "ἀποστέλλω," Ex 3:14; Jer 25:17; Isa 6:8; 48:16; Zech 2:9).

[94] Alan F. Segal, *Paul the Convert*: *The Apostasy of Saul the Pharisee* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), 6. He maintains that Paul converted from his Pharisaic belief "to a new apocalyptic, Jewish sect and then lived in a Hellenistic, Gentile Christian community as a Jew among Gentiles." See also Seyoon Kim, *Paul and the New Perspective: Second Thoughts on the Origin of Paul's Gospel* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2002), 32–44; idem, *The Origin of Paul's Gospel* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1981), 56–66. Modern debate over the nature of Paul's experience is not a peculiar phenomenon. His argument in Galatians and other epistles shows that his fellow Judeans questioned his experience (Gal 1:6–3:5; 1 Cor 9:1–2).

[95] Michael Dietler, "'Our Ancestors the Gauls': Archaeology, Ethnic Nationalism, and the Manipulation of Celtic Identity in Modern Europe," *American Anthropologist* 96/3(1994): 589. The excavated sites are: "Alésia (the site of the final Celtic defeat),

opposed Roman invasions.[96] He then had a huge bronze statue of Vercingetorix "modeled after his own face" made and erected at Alésia. From that time on, this statue became the symbol of French national identity "encapsulated in the cliché 'our ancestors the Gauls.'"[97]

This self-understanding instantiates a French claim to a superior civilization with an ideal democracy of which Michelet spoke, saying:

> Ce génie démocratique de la France n'est pas d'hier. Il apparaît confus et obscur, mais non pas moins réel dès les premières origines de notre histoire. Longtemps il grandit, à l'abri et sous la forme même du pouvoir religieux. Avant les Romain, avant César, je vois le sacerdoce gaulois, rival des chefs de clan, surgir…de l'initiation, c'est-à-dire de l'esprit de légalité. Les Druides, sortis du peuple, s'allient au peuple des villes contre l' aristocratie.[98]
>
> [This democratic genius of France was not born yesterday. It has appeared confused and obscured, but no less real for that, since the beginnings of our history. Over the course of many years it grew, sheltered and even in the guise of religious power. Before the Romans, before Caesar, I see the religious ministry of the Gauls, rival of clan leaders, emerging…initiated by, that is to say thanks to, the spirit of equality. The Druids left the common people and allied themselves with urban dwellers against the aristocracy.

This would be done in conjunction with the translation of the Christian message of freedom and equality to the world, especially to the barbar-

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Gergovia (the site of a victory of the Celts over Caesar), and Bibrace (where Vercingetorix attempted to rally united opposition against the Romans)." For a parallel to French colonization, see Henry Wyles Cushman, *Historical Genealogy: The Descendants of Robert Cushman, the Puritan, From the Year 1617 to 1855* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1855), 33–34. Cushman preached to his fellow Puritan pilgrims, settlers of the Plymouth colony in America, insisting that settling the New World is a divine and moral imperative to spread Christianity, to make use of the spacious land, and to civilize its savage occupants. Dougherty, *Poetics*, 3–4, cites and links Cushman's colonial rhetoric to ancient Greek colonial justifications.

[96] Caesar, *Gallic War*, 7.75. The Celts/Gauls in question belong to the Arverni people other than those of Asia Minor (Caesar, *Gallic War*, 1.31.3; Strabo, *Geogr*. 4.2.3; John Frederick Drinkwater, "Vercingetorix," *OCD*, 1587–8). Vercingetorix is reported to have said to his fellow Gauls that his campaign against Caesar was not driven by a personal ambition but for the libertatis, "freedom," of his community (Caesar, *Gallic War*, 7.89). Vercingetorix said these words before bravely handing himself over (*deditur*) to Caesar for the sake of his fellow Celts/Gauls. The term used to depict his surrender parallels παραδίδωμι to "give," "hand over/deliver" and "surrender" especially in the passion narratives (see "παραδίδωμι," *LSJM*, 1308; R. C. Palmer, ed., "dēdō," *OLD*, 1.496).

[97] Dietler, "'Our Ancestors the Gauls'," 590.

[98] Michelet, *Autobiographie*, 223.

ians.[99] The binary mindset discussed above as originating from Greek antiquity[100] is unfortunately a lively modern nightmare that destabilized many African nations including Senegalese Diola communities. For this reason, we must negotiate and retrieve Senegalese postcolonial contributions from the lived experiences of the colonized themselves.

A Diola Sociopostcolonial Hermeneutics

Although there are helpful historical analyses of works championed by pioneers of Négritude and Pan-Africanism who daringly wrote and spoke against colonialism in metropolitan France,[101] the growing interest

[99] Ibid., 223–33. Capitaine Froelicher is forthright in describing French colonization as a project of exploitation during which the native would be awarded deplorable salaries. He delineates three types of colonies: colonies to populate, to exploit, and to exploit and populate. Senegal falls in the category of colonies for exploitation [Capitaine Froelicher, *Trois Colonisateurs: Bugeaud, Faidherbe, Galliéni* (Paris: Henry Charles-Lavauzelle, 1904), 5–15]. For Froelicher, natives have to be studied and slowly educated in order to reach a satisfactory moral and intellectual level; namely civilized. Simultaneously, "on examine le sol: sa configuration, sa constitution géographique, le régime de ses eaux, ses condition climatériques, sa fertilité, ses productions, ses voies de communications, ses localités, son peuplement, les terres aliénables propres à la colonisation," ["we examine the soil: its configuration, geographical constitution, condition of its waters, its climatic conditions, its fertility, its productions, its means of communication, its locations, population, alienable lands suitable for colonization" (Froelicher, *Trois Colonisateurs*, 14). This French talk of civilizing and introducing an ideal democracy to a barbaric people turns out to be a pretext for exploitation.

[100] Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1978), 57. "In classical Greece and Rome geographers, historians, public figures like Caesar, orators, and poets added to the fund of taxonomic lore separating race, regions, nations, and minds from each other; much of that was self-serving, and existed to prove that Romans and Greeks were superior to other kinds of people." Dougherty, *Poetics*, 3, 157–81. Against Said, some scholars locate the rise of binary thinking in the Hellenistic period [Irad Malkin, "Postcolonial Concepts and Ancient Greek Colonization," *MLQ* 65/3(Sept. 2004): 341–4; Mary E. White, "Greek Colonization," *JEH* 21/4(1961):443–54].

[101] For a first hand account of colonial and postcolonial experiences, see Léopold Sédar Senghor, "The Spirit of Civilisation, or the Laws of African Negro Culture," *Présence Africaine* (1959): 52–4; idem, "What is Negritude? *Atlas* (1962): 54–55; Aimé Césaire, Cahier d' un retour au Pays Natal (2nd edition; ed. Abiola Irele; Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press, 1956); Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks* (trans. Charles Lam Markmann; New York: Grove Press, 1967) originally published as *Peau Noire, Masques Blancs* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1952); idem, *The Wretched of the Earth* (trans. Constance Farrington; New York: Grove Press, 1963) originally published as *Les damnés de la terre*; Kwame Nkrumah, *Consciencism: Philosophy and Ideology for De-Colonizing and Development with Particular Reference to the African Revolution* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1964), just to list a few. For analyses of their works see Robert J. C. Young, *Postcolonialism: An Historical Introduction* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2001); Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin, eds., *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader* (New

in postcolonial studies still lacks a concrete methodology.[102] Postcolonialism is rooted in the very inception of colonization as Henry de Montherlant maintains "les colonies sont faites pour être perdues. Elles naissent avec la *croix* de la mort au front."[103] Instead of taking their cues from the pioneers of Négritude and Pan-Africanism, postcolonial theories being discussed today are sequels of western post-structural thought which says little if anything about the lived experiences of the colonized. Nevertheless, it remains a promising maze capable of actualizing the freedoms liberation theologies failed to secure.[104] A postcolonial biblical interpretation emerges as a socioreligious, socioeconomic, and cultural consciousness which, like the "phoenix that mounts and sings with spread wings,"[105] strives to emancipate and set the colonized into a new theonomy. Similarly, a Senegalese postcolonial thought arose from an identity crisis which can only be reclaimed through an articulation

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York: Routledge, 1995); John McLeod, *Beginning Postcolonialism* (New York: Manchester University Press, 2000).

[102] Musa Dube, "Post-Colonial Biblical Interpretations," *DBI*. 2.299–303. She elaborates on various semantics involved in postcolonial studies. She also contrasts the colonizers' usages of the Bible to bolster their claimed supremacy over native cultures with those that seek to decolonize along with diaspora appropriations. She also highlights limitations and challenges facing interpreters when it comes to interpreting texts and methodology. She keys in on the resourcefulness of the two-thirds world readers who spoke from their experiences. R. S. Sugirtharajah, *Postcolonial Criticism and Biblical Interpretation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002). Sugirtharajah discusses issues shared by both postcolonial and liberation theologies, especially the need to reinvent the distastefulness of the present. Interestingly, he thinks liberation theology failed to measure up to its promissory liberating stance to the extent that it has almost become a relic of the past. However, he thinks both disciplines should join and articulate their common cause (Sugirtharajah, 112–23). Both Dube and Sugirtharajah agree on the role of experience in postcolonial studies. Fernando F. Segovia, *Decolonizing Biblical Studies: A View from the Margins* (New York: Orbis Books, 2000), remained in the theoretical realm, and thus has little to say about biblical texts. Stephen D. Moore and Fernando F. Segovia, ed., *Postcolonial Biblical Criticism: Interdisciplinary Intersection* (New York: Continuum, 2005), provides essays on how postcolonial biblical criticism relates to critical theoretical approaches such as Marxism and postmodernism. For a significant postcolonial biblical critical reading on selected biblical passages, see Musa Dube, *Postcolonial Feminist Interpretation of the Bible* (St. Louis, MO: Chalice Press, 2000).

[103] See Henry de Montherlant, *La Rose de Sable* (Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1968), xii. The italicized word is mine for emphasis.

[104] Sugirtharajah, *Postcolonial Criticism*, 122; Itumeleng J. Mosala, "The Use of the Bible in Black Theology," in *The Unquestionable Right to Be Free* (ed.; Itumeleng J. Mosala and Buti Tlhagale; New York: Orbis Books, 1986), 175–99.

[105] Léopold Sédar Senghor, *The Collected Poetry* (trans. Melvin Dixion; Charlottesvilles, VA: University of Virginia, 1991), 143, 442. My translation and the italics are my emphasis.

of a biblical hermeneutical discourse that would address the actual self-understanding of the Diola amidst postcolonial shambles.

To achieve this end, Tseney Serequeberhan calls for an African philosophical hermeneutics "aimed at disclosing a future in congruence with the humanity of the human in African existence."[106] Similarly, Itumeleng J. Mosala thinks that an effective black theology for the liberation of his fellow oppressed and exploited South Africans is yet to be fully developed because black hermeneuts failed to convince "white theologians against whose theology it was supposedly first originated."[107] He consequently posits that "a clear ideological and theoretical break with the dominant practices and discourses is necessary if a biblical hermeneutics of black liberation is to emerge."[108]

The question of freedom from colonial powers has preoccupied many African thinkers ever since the advent of colonialism. Africans suffered a debilitating identity crisis—a chronic socioreligious, cultural, and economic displacement that led to a suppression of their traditional life experiences and a near irretrivability of the vitality of their languages.[109] For this reason, it would be wise to indigenize certain

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[106] Tseney Serequeberhan, *The Hermeneutics of African Philosophy: Horizon and Discourse* (New York: Routledge, 1994), 20, argues that an African philosophy is a necessary reflective tool that would help formulate the "felt and lived experience" embedded in postcolonial texts (ibid., 13). See also Pal Ahluwalia, *Politics and Post-Colonial Theory: African Inflections* (New York: Routledge, 2001), 20.

[107] Itumeleng J. Mosala, *Biblical Hermeneutics and Black Theology in South Africa* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1989), 2, 1–12.

[108] Mosala, *Biblical Hermeneutics*, 4. Mosala has articulated this break in a much earlier work in which he argued that the African hermeneut should appeal to African Traditional religion which he characterized as a "weapon" or "protest against alienating forces" wrought by the advent of colonialism; idem, "The Relevance of African Traditional Religions and Their Challenge to Black Theology," in *The Unquestionable Right to Be Free: Black Theology from South Africa* (ed. Itumeleng J. Mosala and Buti Tlhagale; New York: Orbis Books, 1986), 91–100; idem, "The Use of the Bible in Black Theology," 175–99. Although his point is well taken, I suspect that *a wounded conscience would engage in an unending quest to maintain the tension arising from its wounds because life will never be the same again.* My emphasis.

[109] Okonda Okolo, "Tradition and Destiny: Horizons of an African Philosophical Hermeneutics," *African Philosophy: The Essential Readings* (PIP; ed. Tsenay Serequeberhan; New York: Paragon House, 1991), 201. The author discusses identity crises generated by German romanticism and in general the European industrial revolution as reflected in the writing of Martin Heidegger and Paul Ricoeur. For an assessment of trends and contributions of African philosophy in contemporary debates, see Paulin J. Hountondji, *African Philosophy: Myth & Reality* (2nd ed.; trans. Henri Evans; Bloomington; IN: Indiana University Press, 1976); Tsenay Serequeberhan, "African Philosophy: The Point in Question," in *African Philosophy: The Essential Readings* (PIP; ed. Tsenay Serequeberhan; New York: Paragon House, 1991), 1–28.

elements of western ideology that originally helped legitimate colonization and alienate many cultures. First, Hans Georg Gadamer argues that "consciousness of being affected by history (wirkungsgeschichtliches Bewußtsein) is primarily consciousness of the hermeneutical *situation.*"[110] That human experience is an ongoing reflection on the past and present horizons because "understanding is always the fusion of these horizons supposedly existing by themselves."[111] This way of seeing human experience transcends German life experiences and extends to those of other peoples. The Senegalese Diola comes to the biblical text with his/her lived experiences of denigrating atrocities of colonialism, and it is from that vantage point that something new emerges: a meaningful self-understanding that must give voice to something new if it is to be effective.

The second elements of western ideology that originally helped legitimate colonization and alienate many cultures and which it would be well to indigenize is conversation. A conversation or "language-game" is a "life-form" that operates based on agreed principles bound by a specific *Sitz im Leben*.[112] Since a text is a "fixed discourse by writing,"[113] it transcends its original writer and reader to speak to readers in different life settings.[114] This is possible because the text encodes possible worlds which when decoded could offer humans a meaningful world in which they can live.[115] So, the interaction between reader and text gives rise to the kind of hermeneutics that would yield a plethora of possible

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[110] Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, (2nd rev. ed.; trans. Joel Weinsheimer and Donald G. Marshall; New York: Continuum, 1994), 301. Idem, *Philosophical Hermeneutics* (trans. and ed. David F. Linge; Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1976), 3–58.

[111] Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, 306. Against Esler, *New Testament Theology*, 79, 83, who thinks that Gadamer does not allow room for the dynamic aspect of human life, Gadamer believes in an ongoing reflective task. "To acquire a horizon means that one learns to look beyond what is at hand—not in order to look away from it but to see it better, within a larger whole and in truer proportion" (305).

[112] Wittgenstein, *Philosophical Investigations*, 1.23.

[113] Paul Ricoeur, *Interpretation Theory: Discourse and the Surplus of Meaning* (Fort Worth, TX: Texas Christian University Press, 1976), 26.

[114] Paul Ricoeur, *Hermeneutics and the Human Sciences: Essays of Language, Action and Interpretation* (ed. and trans. John B. Thompson; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 139; idem, *Interpretation Theory*, 30.

[115] Ricoeur, *Interpretation Theory*, 30–34.

meanings.[116] Gadamer's fusing of the horizons should not be limited to a mere reflection on one's misunderstanding, but rather should move one to an explanation of one's misunderstanding and to imagining a new world in which freedom would be an actuality. Therefore, one's consciousness of colonial oppression and dehumanization should lead to concrete discourse. Serequeberhan finds current usages of terms such as liberty and freedom marred with ambiguity because

> today it is these very terms that post-colonial "independent" Africa misunderstands itself. What seemed to be clear and unambiguous has become obscure and opaque. Thus the lethargic inertness of neocolonialism passes for the actuality of "freedom" and "liberation."[117]

Like ancient colonial discourses that appeal to divine legitimation for their colonial efforts, the Apostle Paul understood himself as one sent by God to shape and create communities whose members' identity is defined in Christ rather than by culture, social status, ethnicity, or gender (Gal 2:11–14; 3:28). The cross of Christ would become the anchor for a postcolonial biblical discourse that would invite the colonized to exercise a new identity in Jesus Christ and to assiduously investigate ancient colonial discourses and biblical texts in the context of Senegalese Diola communities. I find a crucial parallel to the Pauline community formation in the ministry of Aline Sitoé, a Diola prophet, who claimed to have been sent by God"[118] to create inclusive communities whose members would be equal before God. Her ministry was essentially a response to the French colonization of Senegal and its subsequent expansion into the Diola territory. She fearlessly countered French hegemony, with a

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[116] Ricoeur, *Interpretation Theory*, 32. He sees metaphors as crucial vehicles of meaning, or imaginations in and of themselves with a subversive power to reconfigure the readers' world. See also Anthony C. Thiselton, *New Horizons in Hermeneutics: The Theory and Practice of Transforming Biblical Reading* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1992), 347–64.

[117] Serequeberhan, *The Hermeneutics*, 16, notes that in the "midst of famine, political terror, western or Eastern ('democratic' or 'socialist,' as the case may be) military interventions, 'liberation' and 'freedom' have become the words with which Occidental power imperiously proclaims its military might and political preeminence."

[118] Jean Girard, *Genèse du pouvoir charismatique en basse Casamance (Sénégal)* (Dakar SN: IFAN, 1969), 226. My translation. Girard uses the French word "Dieu" to refer to the Diola supreme God "*Emit*." Diola people either call God *At Emit*, *Ala Emit*, *Emitai* or simply *Emit* depending on which subgroup they belong. As a result, this nomenclature will be maintained throughout the book.

hermeneutics that reshaped and reimagined the Diola socioreligious, socioeconomic, and sociopolitical convictions into inclusive and egalitarian communities. That being the case, I would call my method a *sociopostcolonial hermeneutics*. In my second and third chapters, I discuss how Gauls/Galatians and the Senegalese Diola people were pictured under imperial rule and show the socioreligious parallels between them. The fourth chapter deals with an exegesis of Gal 2:11–14 and 3:26–29, and the fifth concludes my sociopostcolonial hermeneutics.

CHAPTER TWO

IDENTITY AND THE SOCIORELIGIOUS CONTEXT OF PRE-CHRISTIAN AND CHRISTIAN GALATIANS

A History of Research

In the methodological discussion, I reframe socioreligious and colonial contributions in terms of a sociopostcolonial hermeneutics. The epistle to the churches of Galatia was written to people living under imperial/colonial Rome. Paul calls his addressees Galatians (Gal 3:3). Who these peoples were has been the object of unresolved debates linking their identity to the dating of the epistle [often reconstructed from the accounts of both Paul (Gal 2:1–10) and Luke (Acts 13–16) expressed through the so-called southern Galatian (Acts 13–14) and northern Galatian (Acts 16:6; 18:23) hypotheses].[1]

[1] For details on the hypotheses, see F. F. Bruce, *The Epistle to the Galatians: A Commentary on the Greek Text*, NIGTC (ed. I. Howard Marshall and W. Ward Gasque. Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1982), 3–18; Richard N. Longenecker, *Galatians*, WBC 41 (ed. David A. Hubbard and Glenn W. Barker; Dallas, TX: Word Books, 1990), lxiii–lxxii; Martyn, *Galatians*, 156–7. Debates over when Paul's confrontation with Peter occurred range from a post- (Bruce, 128; Longenecker, 64), to a pre-Jerusalem conference date. A reading of Acts 15 in conjunction with Gal 2:11–14 led Gerd Lüdemann to conclude that the conflict at Antioch was behind the reason for the Jerusalem conference [Gerd Lüdemann, *Paul, Apostle to the Gentiles: Studies in Chronology* (trans. Stanley Jones; Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press, 1984), 77, 75–77)]. Adopting this assertion does not mean the argument has no weaknesses. Gal 2:1–10 appears to have been overlooked by Lüdemann. This passage seems to refer to an earlier visit subsequent to Paul's experience of Christ's revelation. Keeping this in mind, Gal 2:1–10 can only be read in conjunction with Acts 9:26–30. In this case, the conflict at Antioch would have happened before the Jerusalem conference recorded in Acts 15:1–30. Whether he is right or not, the present passage presupposes that what happened in Antioch, namely the enforced "cultic separation" between diaspora Judeans and other people, reoccurred in Galatia (Betz, *Galatians*, 106). Betz rightly says: "Eating with Gentile Christians implied the crossing of the line drawn by the Torah covenant as understood by some Jews and Jewish Christians. Taking up table fellowship was consistent with Paul's understanding of the argument made at Jerusalem; withdrawing from the table fellowship was in line with the conservative Jewish understanding of these agreements. Paul's emphasis was on the unity of salvation in Christ; the Jewish Christians' emphasis was on cultic separation" (ibid.).

Since these debates do not resolve whether Paul is referring to Northern[2] or Southern Galatia,[3] a shift to the socioreligious context of the Galatians is necessary because the above mentioned discussions say little or nothing[4] about the socioreligious convictions of Paul's addressees.

Who Were the Gauls/Galatians? Gauls in Classical Literature

To flippantly identify all the ancestors of Paul's addressees as Κελταί/Κελτοί "Celts," and Γαλάται "Galatians"[5] may be somewhat overdrawn. Philip Freeman states that after the fourth century B.C.E. Greek writers use both names invariably to refer to the Celts of Europe. Γαλάται, however, is used of the inhabitants of Asia Minor[6] and "whenever Roman authors write of the *Galatae*, we can be fairly confident they are referring to the Galatians of Asia Minor."[7]

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[2] Betz, *Galatians*, 4–5; Martyn, *Galatians*, 15–16. Proponents of this hypothesis believe Galatians were of Celtic or Gallic descent.

[3] Bruce, *Galatians*, 8–10; Longenecker, *Galatians*, lxii–lxxii. Advocates of this view hold that Galatians were of mixed Gentile origin. Both views appeal to texts such as Acts 16:6 and Act 18:23 to bolster their hypotheses.

[4] Paul addresses his readers as Galatians (Gal 3:1)—probably an eponym (Gal 1:2 and 1 Cor 16:1). The account in Acts 13:13 and 14:28 shows Paul and Barnabas evangelizing in Pisidia, Iconium, Lystra, and Derbe in the province of Galatia in agreement with 2 Tim 3:11. These passages do not provide much evidence on the identity of Paul's addressees.

[5] See Bruce, *Galatians*, 3 who considers Κελταί/Κελτοί (Celts) as variants of Γαλάται. This conclusion must have been based on earlier Greek writers. In contrast to Bruce, Longenecker rightfully identifies the Celts and Gauls geographically but also chronologically following their invasions.

[6] Philip Freeman, *The Galatian Language: A Comprehensive Survey of the Language of the Ancient Celts in Greco-Roman Asia Minor* (ANETS; New York: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2001), 5. He also notes that earlier Greek writers did in fact use both names interchangeably. On *Celtae/Keltoi*, see Barry Cunliffe, *The Ancient Celts* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 2.

[7] Freeman, 6. The spread of ancient Celts throughout Europe and Asia Minor is crucial for determining who these Κελταί/Κελτοί (Celts) or Γαλάται were. Whereas biblical and Judean authors knew of a people called "Γαλάται" (1 Macc 8:2; 2 Macc 8:20; *Sib. Or.* 3.508–110, and Gal 3:1; Josephus, *Ant.* 1.123; *J.W.* 1.5, 397, 672; 2.371) located in a territory known as "Γαλατία" (Gal 1:2; 1 Cor 16:1; 1 Peter 1:1; 2 Tim 4:10; Acts 16:6; 18:23; Josephus, *Ant.* 12.414; 17.344; *J.W.* 4.440, 494, 547, 634; 7.88), New Testament writers make no mention of the Celts. Josephus appears to differentiate the Γαλάται from the Κελτοί (Josephus, *J.W.* 1.5) in speaking of the Celtic legion to which German guards of Gaius belonged (Josephus, *Ant.* 19.119). James M. Scott makes an important contribution by discussing Galatians in a broader context: The so-called Table of the nations in Genesis (James M. Scott, *Paul and the Nations: The Old Testament and Jewish Background of Paul's Mission to the Nations with Special Reference to the*

Ancient Celts first appeared in the classical world arena as mercenaries hired by Dionysius to help in the Peloponnesian war in 369 B.C.E. (Xen, *Hell.* 7.1.20–23, 28–31). As in ancient Greek colonial discourse, overpopulation and internecine conflict led to their massive migration throughout Europe.[8] Their division into three tribes is due either to a discord or strategic war tactic that ensured their victory over Macedonia in 280 B.C.E.[9]

In 278/277 B.C.E., they crossed the Hellespont into Asia Minor[10] where they were later referred to as τοὺς ἐν Ἀσίᾳ Γαλάτας "Asiatic Gauls"[11] or Γαλλογραικοί "Gallogricians"[12] in distinction from the Celts of Western, Central, and Southern Europe.[13] Once in Asia Minor they continued their raiding habits until Attalus I defeated[14] and confined them to the Galatian region by 235–232 B.C.E. which, according to Strabo, came to be known as Γαλάται in the Phrygian territory where they settled in three tribe settlements: Τρόκμοι, "Trocmi," Τεκτοσάγες, "Tectosages," Τολιστοβώγιοι, "Tolistobogii."[15]

Destination of Galatians (WUNT 84; ed. Martin Hengel and Otfried Hofius; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1995).

[8] Justin, *Epit.* 24.4a. See Cunliffe, *Ancient Celts*, 68–82.

[9] Stephen Mitchell, *Anatolia: Land, Men, and Gods in Asia Minor: Volume 1: The Celts in Anatolia and the Impact of Roman Rule* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 13. Stephen Mitchell is of the conviction that Celtic leaders agreed on dividing themselves into three groups/tribes prior to launching an attack on Macedonia. He thinks Celts migrated in groups characterized as being a loose confederacy (see page 42).

[10] Livy, *Hist.* xxxiii.xvi.5–10. On the Celtic migration into Asia Minor see Cunliffe, *Ancient Celts*, 83; Venceslas Kruta, *Les Celtes: Histoire et dictionnaire des origines à la romanisation et au Christianisme* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2000), 269.

[11] Polybius, *Hist.* 21.38.2.

[12] Strabo, *Geogr.* 12.5.1. According to Strabo kings of Bithynia gave the land to the Gauls. Justin, *Epit.* 27.1–12. Capitalizing on the help of Galatian mercenaries, Antiochus Hierax defeated his brother Seleucos II in 240/230 B.C.E. He also teamed up with the Gauls against Attalus I, the Pergamene, and lost upon his refusal to pay tribute to the Gauls. See R. E. Allen, *The Attalid Kingdom: A Constitutional History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), 27–65.

[13] Barry Cunliffe, *Greeks, Romans and Barbarians: Spheres of Interaction* (New York: Methuen, 1988), 36–58; 80–105. See map illustrating the Celtic migratory trajectories on page 37. Idem, *The Ancient Celts*, 176–80.

[14] Pausanias, *Descr.* 1.25.2, spoke of this defeat at Mysia and the related monuments erected by Attalus I commemorating his victory. See also *Pol. Hist.* 18.41.7–8; Strabo, *Geography*, 13.4.2. For a helpful chronology of the Attalid dynasty and their encroachments with the Galatians, see Allen, *Attalid Kingdom*, 27–65.

[15] Strabo, *Geogr.* 12.5.1. Respective capitals of Trocmi, Tolistobogii and Tectosages were Pessinus, Ancyra and Tavium. These three tribes were divided into four tetrarchies each of which is headed by a tetrarch under whom a military commander, two subcommanders and a judge serve. Pliny concurs with Strabo on the Gallic settlement in Phrygia [Pliny, *NH*, 5.146.7. See Pausanias, 1.4.5 and Stephen Mitchell, "Population

Afterwards, Galatians sided with Pompey against Mithradates in 64 B.C.E. and then later against Julius Caesar in 48 B.C.E. Amyntas, the last Gallic/Galatian king, was appointed by Mark Anthony in 39 B.C.E.; during that time Galatia was expanded southward.[16] After Amyntas died in 25 B.C.E., Augustus annexed his kingdom into a Roman province.[17] That being the case, Paul's addressees were likely those ethnic Gauls/Galatians—the descendants of the ancient Celts (see map on page 37).

The Gauls/Galatians Publically Displayed: Classical Typologies

A common practice of Hellenistic authors to filter their actual life experiences through the lenses of their ancestors' mythical experiences[18] changed abruptly after Rome's conquest of Greece.[19] Identity construction is a dynamic process with complex subjective criteria—"a process of self-definition in opposition to other identities; it relies as much on differences from others than on similarities within a group."[20]

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and the Land in Roman Galatia," in *ANRW* II.7.2 (ed. Hildgard Temporini; Berlin: de Gruyter 1980), 1057]. Attalus' victory was celebrated as the victory of Hellenic civilization over barbarism and encapsulated in his Pergamene representational art. This symbolic representation is crucial to the "Greek mythopoeic custom of assimilating the terrifying and the unknown to Greek notions of a prehistoric past" (Rankin, "Celts," 22). See also Cunliffe, *Ancient Celts*, 17–77; Mitchell, *Anatolia*, 1:13–21.

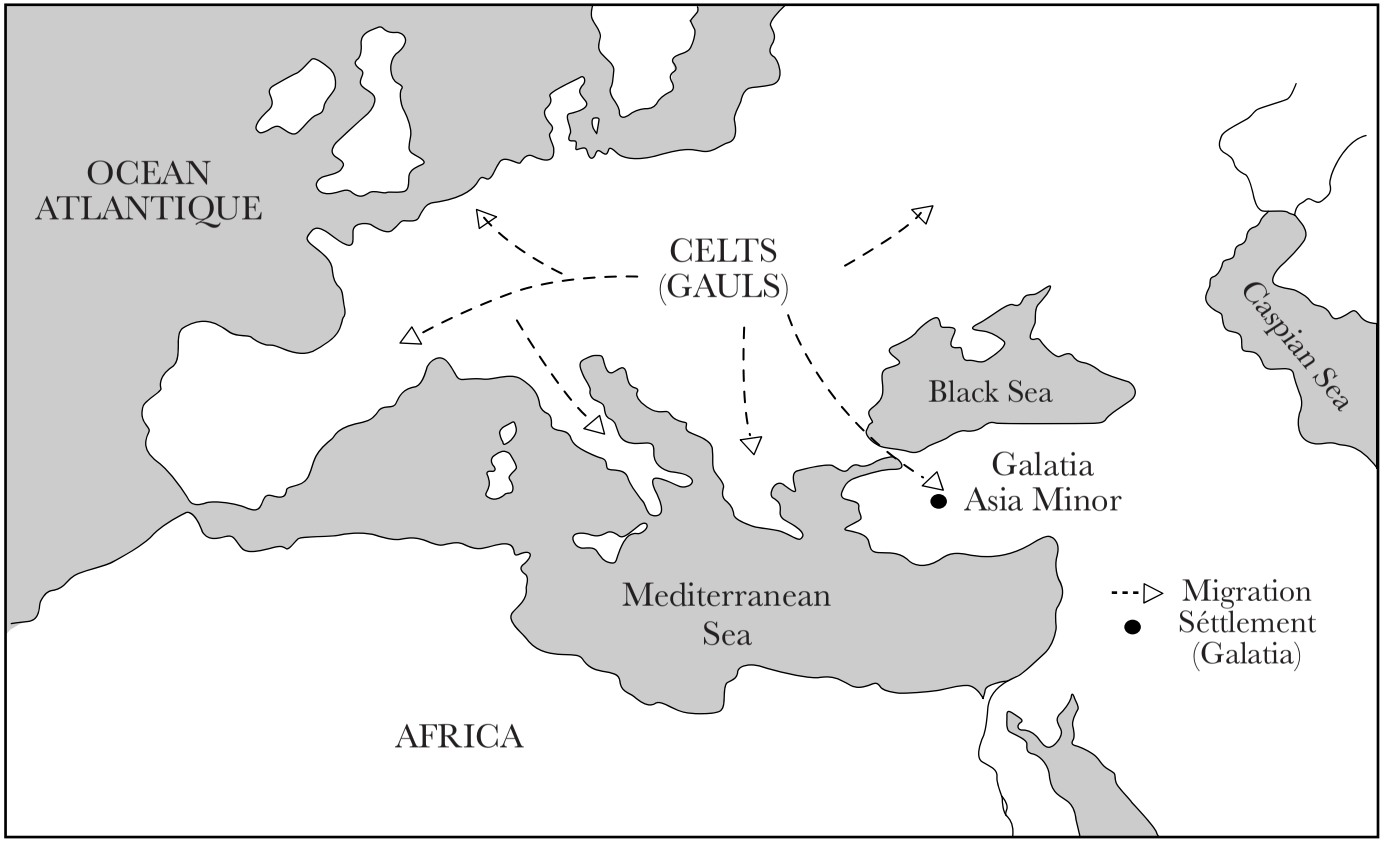
[16] Bernard Rémy, *L'évolution administrative de l'Anatolie aux trois premier siècle de notre ère* (Collection du Centre d'études Romaines et Gallo-Romaines. Nouvelle Série n. 5; Lyon: Boccard, 1986), 21, 21–47; idem, *les fastes sénatoriaux des provinces Romaines d'Anatolie au Haut-empire (31 av. J.-C.–284 ap. J.-C.) (Pont-Bithynie, Galatie, Cappadoce, Lycie-Pamplylie et Cilicie)* (Institut Français d'études Anatoliennes; Paris: Editions Recherches sur les Civilisations, 1988), 95–118. For a detailed discussion of Rome's involvement in Asia Minor, see Erich S. Gruen, *The Hellenistic World and the Coming of Rome* (vol. 2; Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 529–610.

[17] Robert K. Sherk, "Roman Galatia: The Governors from 25 B.C. to A.D. 114," in *ANRW* II.72 (ed. Hildgard Temporini; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1980), 954–963; G. Walter Hansen, "Galatia," in *The Book of Acts in Its First Century Setting: Graeco-Roman Setting* (vol. 2; ed. David W. J. Gill and Conrad Gempf; Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1994), 377–95; Scott, *Paul and the Nations*, 184–86; See also Anthony D. Marco, "The Cities of Asia Minor under the Roman Imperium," in *ANRW* II.72 (ed. Hildgard Temporini; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1980), 666, 659–97.

[18] Dougherty, *Poetics*, 4–6, 157–62; Cunliffe, *Greeks, Romans and Barbarians*, 12–37. Herod. *Hist.* 8.141–144, Herodotus offers crucial insights into Greek perceptions of foreigners and Greek self-definition—an idea taken up by Plato, *Menex.* 145, who talks about the unadulterated purity of the Greeks and their capacity to transform what they receive from barbarians into a better end (Plato, *Epin.* 987).

[19] Dougherty, *Poetics*, 6; Williams, *Beyond*, 31–5.

[20] Rebecca Preston, "Roman Questions, Greek Answers: Plutarch and the Construction of Identity," in *Being Greek Under Rome: Cultural Identity, the Second Sophistic and the*



Map 1. Migration and settlement of the descendents of the ancient Celts (Gauls) in Asia Minor: Northern Galatia. Other Celts/ Gauls migrated toward other parts of the European Continent.

This process of construing identity is reflected in Polybius' writings. He saw in Graeco-Roman conquests an opportunity for intellectual inquiries about other peoples and their lands, resulting in a revisionist historiography designed to appeal to his Greek audience (Pol. *Hist.* 3.59.3–8); thus, his apparent ethnocentrism should not be surprising. His characterization of the Celts/Gauls differs considerably from that of Justin's Pompeius Trogus.

First, Polybius' revisionism centers on Roman imperial triumph over barbarians, namely the Celts (Pol. *Hist.* 3.58–75). Ancient Celts/Gauls, especially those of Italy, are in his view primitive nomad farmers who led a simple life devoid of scientific skills. He posits that

> ᾤκουν δὲ κατὰ κώμας ἀτειχιστους, τῆς λοιπῆς κατασκευῆς ἄμοιροι καθεστῶτες. διὰ γὰρ τὸ στιβαδοκοιτεῖν καὶ κρεαφαγεῖν, ἔτι δὲ μηδὲν ἄλλο πλὴν τὰ πολεμικὰ καὶ τὰ κατὰ γεωργία ἀσκεῖν, ἁπλοῦς εἶχον τοὺς βίους, οὔτ' ἐπιστήμης ἄλλης οὔτε τέχνης παρ' αὐτοῖς τὸ παράπαν γινωσκομένης.[21]
>
> they lived in unwalled villages, without any superfluous furniture; for as they slept on beds of leaves and fed on meat and were exclusively occupied with war and agriculture, their lives were very simple, and they had no knowledge whatever of any art or science.

Thus, Polybius finds it worthy to praise Attalus for conquering ὃ βαρύτατον καὶ Μαχιμώτατον ἔθνος ἦν τότε κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν, "the most formidable and warlike nation in Asia" (Pol. *Hist.* 18.41.7) feared for its (βάρβαρος) "barbarism," (παρανομία), and "lawlessness" (Pol. *Hist.* 3.3.5). He ascribes what he judges to be their intellectual inaptitude "to organize themselves" (Pol. *Hist.* 18.17.9–12)[22] to a serious primitive

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Development of Empire (ed. Simon Goldhill; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 87. In her discussion of Plutarch's Greek identity formation, she notes that identity is a dynamic process that includes knowledge, politics, and power—elements marshaled in the quest for dominance. As a result, identity is a "complex process of construction, negotiation and contestation…a complex process of negotiating a place in the world and of engaging in the contest over political power" (ibid., 88). In a colonial context, the contest for political power does not rest solely on the process of identity formation but on economic exploitation.

[21] Pol. *Hist.* 2.17. 9–10.

[22] His *Histories* were written τ' αὔξησις καὶ προκοπή τῆς Ῥωμαίων δυναστείας ἐτετελείωτο "when the growth and advance of Roman power has reached its apex" and all nations Ῥωμαίων ἀκούειν καὶ τούτοις πειθαρχεῖν ὑπὲρ τῶν παραγγελλομένων "must listen to Romans and obey their orders" (Pol. *Hist.* 3.4.1–4). As far as Polybius is concerned, Rome does not owe its apogee to pure (τύχῃ) chance (Pol. *Hist.* 1.63.9). This might have generated counter-responses from Livy [minimizing the exploits of Alexander the Great (Livy, *Hist.* 9.18–19)] and Dionysius of Halicarnassus [Romans

moral character flaw he calls ἀθεσία "fickleness."[23] This treacherous behavior is responsible for their passion-driven irrationality and consecutive defeats by colonial/imperial Rome (Pol. *Hist.* 2.35.3). Worse is their bibulousness that renders them incapable of sharing war spoils.[24] Due to this unreliability, their allies (Hannibal and Eumenes the Pergamee) had to take extreme precaution (Pol. *Hist.* 2.32.8; 3.49.3, 70.4; 78.2; 24.14.7).

Polybius' negative characterization of the Celts is not unique and could have inspired Julius Caesar's comments that "cuius consensui ne orbis quidem terrarum possit obsistere"; "a united Gaul forming a single nation animated by the same spirit can defy the universe" (*Gallic War*, 7.29, my translation). Rome's defeat of the Gauls is due to their apparent lack of unity (*Gallic War*, 33.17.15).[25]

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were not savages. They earned their empire (Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Ant. Rom.* 1.4.1–3)].

[23] This term conveys the idea of "setting aside" or nullifying a promise or a treaty. Polybius uses this word to characterize both the Celts/Gauls of Italy and well as the Gauls/Galatians of Asia Minor (Pol. *Hist.* 2.32.8; 3.78.2; 24.14.7 compare with Diodorus 18.32.4; 31.45.1). See the verbal equivalent of ἀθεσία, "ἀθετέω," *LSJM*, 31; BDAG, 24; "ἀθετέω, ἀθέτησις," *TDNT*, 158–9 which is used by the Apostle Paul in Gal 2:21; 3:15 and 1 Thess 4:8 and other New Testament writers such as Mark 6:26. It is also found in the LXX Jer 20:7; Dan 9:7; 1 Macc 16:17 and 2 Macc 15:10. On Polybius' negative depictions of the Celts/Gauls, see Williams, *Beyond*, 79–113; Rankin, "Celts," 26.

[24] Pol. *Hist.* 2.19.4 (trans. Paton, LCL). Τοῦτο δὲ σύνηθές ἐστι Γαλάταις πράττειν, ἐπειδὰν σφετερίσωνταί τι τῶν πέλας, καὶ μάλιστα διὰ τὰς ἀλόγους οἰνοφλυγίας καὶ πλησμονάς, "This is common among the Gauls, when they have appropriated their neighbour's property chiefly owing to their inordinate drinking and surfeiting. See Diodorus, 5.26.3. For Polybius barbarism is not limited to the Celts/Gauls. He also views Romans as a savage people (Pol. *Hist.* 12.4.2–3). Craige Champion, "Romans as Barbaroi: Three Polybian Speeches and the Politics of Cultural Indeterminacy," *CP* 95/4(Oct., 2000): 426; 425–444, agreeably states that Polybius' language is a political ploy of "cultural alienation."

[25] Although Roman historians spoke of the annihilation of Druidism (Pliny, *NH*, 30.4.13; Suet. *Claud.* 25.5), a Gallic insurrection was later reported by Tacitus during the reign of Vespasian (Tacitus, *Hist.* 4.5.54). Furthermore, a Gallic prophetess warned Alexander Severus about the impending fall of Imperial Rome (*SHA*, *sev. Alex*. 60.6). The persistence of Gallic religious features on the altar of the four gods (with the deity Cernunnos) suggests an incomplete pacification of Gauls (*ILS*, 4613). Not all characterizations of the Gauls/Galatians are negative. For Diodorus Silicus (Diodorus, 31), the Gauls/Galatians not only denigrate other people ("μειόω"), they are clever and capable of learning ("μανθάνω"). Aristotle finds the Celts to be strong and courageous people who train their offspring to adapt to harsh weather conditions (Aristotle, *Nic. Eth.* 1115b.28; idem, *Politics*, 1336a). Callimachus offers a mixed picture, calling them Τιτῆνες, ("Titans") and a ἄφρονι φύλῳ ("foolish tribe") (Callimachus, *Hymn.* 5.172–3, 184). Rather than Callimachus' ἄφρων, Gal 3:1 has ἀνόητος "foolish." The word ἄφρων is found elsewhere in Pauline literature (Rom 2:20, 1 Cor 15:36; 2 Cor 11:1, 16–17,

Greg Woolf argues that "the Gauls' taste for Mediterranean wine is a prominent feature of classical accounts of pre-conquest societies. A trope of Greek and Roman ethnography was that Gauls over-valued wine to an absurd degree."[26] The wealthier Celts imported wine from Italy and Marseille, and drank it straight or mixed with water, as Athenaeus' Poseidonius notes.[27] Besides drinking wine, Celts/Gauls are said to have had strange eating customs such as consuming meat—λεοντωδῶς, "like a lion," grabbing with both hands and biting the meat off the bone.[28] The Celts/Gauls frequently engaged in sham fights after dinner that often ended in injury or death.[29] Small wonder with such deportment and eating customs some considered them barbarians.

Second, Pompeius Trogus begins his discussion of Celtic/Gallic migration in terms of ancient Greek colonial discourse from a universal historical perspective: overpopulation and *stasis*.

19, 21; 12:6, 11; Eph 5:17). Callimachus might have been praising the Celtic invasion of Macedonia during which Delphi was almost destroyed (Rankin, "Celts," 22). Livy offers a mixed picture calling them "fierce, giant warriors and a degenerate mixed race called Gallogrecians" (Livy, *Hist.* 38.17.9–10). Speculating over the reason why Gallic Druids commit their religious teachings to memory, Caesar highlights two key reasons: to avoid their religious teachings becoming a "common property" or reduced to "writing" (Caesar, *Gallic War*, 6.14.3). Sociologically, a refusal to commit religious teaching to writing is a mode of resistance that could ensure a limited Romanization. A fascinating parallel is found among the Egyptian priests of the Isis cult who refused to translate their teachings, thus socially isolating themselves. Reinhold Merkelbach, *Isis regina-Zeus Sarapis: Die griechisch-ägyptische Religion nach den Quellen dargestellt* (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1995), 120–130, 309. This priestly refusal to translate their religious texts occurred from 2nd to the 4th centuries C.E.—a move that sealed the fate of the cult. Contrasting between traditional and linguistic adaptability, David Balch convincingly points to the fact that the failure of the priests of the Isis cult to have their texts translated probably led to the "decline of Isis" (Balch, "ΜΕΤΑΒΟΛΗ ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΩΝ," 171–3).

[26] Woolf, *Becoming Roman*, 177; Williams, *Beyond*, 109–10.

[27] Athenaeus, *Deipn*. 4.152b–d.

[28] Athenaeus, *Deipn*. iv.151e–152b. They dine sitting in a circle, with the κράτιστος ("the mightiest/noblest") seated in the middle and the ὑποδεχόμενος ("host") next to him while others are seated κατ' ἀξίαν ἧς ἔχουσιν ("according to their worth").

[29] Athenaeus, *Deipn*. iv.154b. Quoting Phylarchus (who lived in the third century B.C.E.), Athenaeus relates Gallic eating customs during which a rich Galatian gave a year long lavish banquet for all the Gauls. Θύματα δὲ καταβάλλεσθαι ταύρων καὶ συῶν καὶ προβάτων τε καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν κτηνῶν ἑκάστης ἡμέρας πολλά,… "Everyday many victims were sacrificed [such as] bulls, swine, sheep, and other cattle." Ibid., *Deipn*. iv.150f, 150d–150f. Crucially, παριόντες ξένοι were invited to μεταλάβωσι τῶν παρασκευασθέντων "share of the prepared meal" (ibid., 150f). Their eating of pork and incorporation of strangers might have been objectionable to those who came from James (Gal 2:11–13).

> The Gauls had become so numerous that the lands that bred them could not hold them all; so they sent off 300,000 men, as a "sacred spring," in search of new homes. Of these a number settled in Italy, capturing and burning the city of Rome, and others, led by birds (for the Gauls are superior to everyone in the craft of augury), made their way into the recesses of Illyria, massacring the barbarians as they went, to settle in Pannonia. They were a violent, reckless, warlike people who were first after Hercules to cross the impassable heights of the Alps and regions made uninhabitable by the cold (a feat which had, indeed, earned Hercules respect for his valour and belief in his immorality).[30]

Trogus counters Polybius' account, insisting that Celts/Gauls, by divine legitimation, displaced barbarians and found new homes.

In contrast to Polybius, Trogus' Gauls learned civilized life from the Greeks. They learned how to farm and to live in walled cities governed by laws rather than warfare; their migration throughout Europe was divinely sanctioned (*Epit.* 43.4.1–2). Trogus does not hide atrocities associated with colonial brutality.[31] Even Livy who somewhat concurs

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[30] Justin, *Epit.* 24.4.1–4. Whereas Justin's Pompeius Trogus emphasizes overpopulation as the impetus for Celtic/Gallic migrations, Pliny the Elder stresses both overpopulation and quest for riches (Pliny, *NH.* 12.2.5). However, Trogus later hints of the Gallic attraction to riches (*Epit.* 25.1–2). Strabo simply says . . . οἱ Γαλάται πλανηθέντες πολὺν χρόνον "the Galatians wandered for a long time," prior to their settlement in Galatia (*Geogr.* 12.5.1. My translation). This is a clear indication that the nature of ancient Celts' migration into Europe was debated among classical writers. J. M. Alonso-Núñez, "An Augustan World History: The 'Historiae Philippicae' of Pompeius Trogus," *Greece and Rome* 34/1(April 1987): 59, 56–72, argues that Trogus was writing a world rather than a Roman history. Trogus' own autobiography indicates that he was a Romanized Gaul [*Epist.* 43.5.11–12; Alonso-Núñez, "An Augustan World History," 57; R. Develin, "Introduction," in *Justin: Epitome of the Philippic History of Pompeius Trogus* (APACR; trans. J. C. Yardley; Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1994), 2–3]. The suspicion that Justin might have changed some features peculiar to Trogus in his *Epitome* is well taken [See D. R. Shackleton Bailey, "Textual Notes on Justin (Trogus)," *Phoenix* 34/3(Autumn, 1980): 227–236. See also J. C. Yardley, *Justin and Pompeius Trogus: A Study of the Language of Justin's Epitome of Trogus* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003)].

[31] Justin, *Epit.* 24.7–1–8.1–16. Justin's Trogus admits that the Celts' confidence in their powers sometimes appears to be unruly behavior that cost them many battles, especially Delphi. He posits that "the Gauls vanquished the Pannonians and spent many years in a succession of wars with their neighbors . . . Then, heartened by their success, they divided their armies, some of which headed for Greece, others for Macedonia, laying waste with the sword everything in their path. Such was the terror inspired by the name 'Gaul' that kings would actually try to buy peace from them with huge sums of money even when they were not under attack" (*Epist.* 24.4.5–7).

with him on the divine sanction for Celtic/Gallic migrations[32] emphasizes the barbaric process of colonialism.[33]

In sum, the above different views of the Celts/Gauls show that their characterizations reflect tensions among classical writers. These negative typologies or stereotypes do not provide an accurate picture of the Celts/Gauls and should be understood as being written from a colonial and imperialistic perspective.[34] That does not mean that these accounts are all false. What is clear is that the description of Gauls/Galatians as uncivilized barbarians is also a characterization prevalent in modern/postmodern colonial/neocolonial discourses. Beside the above literary typologies there are visual representations of the vanquished Celts/Gauls/Galatians to which I now turn.

Barbarism Publically Displayed as Vanquished

The Attalids publically displayed Galatians as vanquished in commemoration of Greek cultural supremacy over barbarism.[35] This is the Greek message to the Galatians and non-Greeks. The Apostle Paul, on the other hand, publicly portrayed Jesus Christ as crucified for the Gauls/Galatians.[36] This is Paul's message to the Galatians, Judeans and other

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[32] Livy, *Hist*. 39.54.5; ibid., 5.33.5–35.1–3. Williams, *Beyond*, 113–20 highlights the similarities between Trogus and Livy. Scholars debate the classical descriptions of the Celts/Gauls. Those who follow Polybius view them through negative imperialistic lenses. Yet Trogus and Livy challenge this view. Trogus tends to avoid describing the Gauls as barbarians. For instance, Trogus says that the Gauls "secured peace for Antigonus, not only with the Gauls but also with his barbarous neighbors" (*Epist*. 25.2.7b).

[33] Livy, *Hist*. xxxiii.17.3–5 (trans. Sage, LCL). Livy appears to have taken up and reassessed this characterization of the Asian Gauls when he writes that "…this fierce tribe, traveling up and down in war, has almost made the world its residence. Tall bodies, long reddish hair, huge shields, very long swords; in addition, songs as they go into battle and yells and leapings and the dreadful din of arms as they clash shields according to some ancestral custom—all these are deliberately used to terrify [ad terrorem] their foes."

[34] Woolf, *Becoming Roman*, 177–8; Williams, *Beyond*, 111, 220–222.

[35] Pollitt, *Art*, 79, 81. Monuments commemorating the Attalid victory can be found elsewhere at Delos, Delphi, and later in Athens. Ferris, *Enemies*, 1–16, describes how negative typologies work to reduce the foreigners to a denigrated object. Kim J. Hartswick, *The Gardens of Sallust: A Changing Landscape* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004), 105–8. The authors agree on how representational art is used to freeze the vanquished in time. See Esther V. Hansen, "The Great Victory Monument of Attalus I," *American Journal of Archaeology* 41/1(Jan.–Mar., 1937): 52–55.

[36] Gal 3:1b, Deut 21:23 and 27:26. Paul asks: οἷς κατ' ὀφθαλμοὺς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς προεγράφη ἐσταυρωμένος; "before whose eyes was Jesus Christ publically displayed as crucified?" The answer to this question would be in the affirmative. Jesus was not only

people. Attalus' message was a brilliant synthesis of extant Greek literary characterization of barbarians with his Great Frieze as a testimony to both Greek cultural dominance over barbarism and theology. This hermeneutical discourse of cultural and religious dominance is publicly displayed[37] (Pliny, *Nat.* 34.84; Ampelius, *Liber Mem*. 8.14) in the statues of the "Dying Gaul" and "Suicidal Gauls"[38] (see figures 1 and 2).

As in the literary evidence, the Great Frieze proclaims the defeat of uncivilized beasts who threaten Hellenism[39] (see figure 3). According to John R. Marszal this picture projected by the Pergamenes is anything but universal. He agrees that Eastern Gallic depictions proclaimed a defeat over "universal barbarians" and salvation for civilization, namely Greek civilization,[40] but argues that Western representations are smaller and tend to reflect individual collections enshrining a message of heroism

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displayed as crucified before the eyes of the Galatians, Χριστὸς ἡμᾶς ἐξηγόρασεν ἐκ τῆς κατάρας τοῦ νόμου γενόμενος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν κατάρα, ὅτι γέγραπται· ἐπικατάρατος πᾶς ὁ κρεμάμενος ἐπὶ ξύλου,… "Christ redeemed us from the curse of the law having become a curse for us. For it is written, 'cursed is everyone who is hanged on a tree'" (Compare Gal 3:13 with Deut 21:23; 27:26). David L. Balch, "The Suffering of Isis/Io and Paul's Portrait of Christ crucified (Gal 3:1): Frescoes in Pompeian and Roman Houses and in the Temple of Isis in Pompeii," *JR* 1(2003): 24–55, points to the early Christian symbolic synthesis of text and artistic representations of the cross to emphasize the importance of the crucifixion of Jesus. I take up the significance of Paul's argument in the fourth chapter.

[37] Pollitt, *Art*, 79; Ferris, *Enemies*, 1–16; Hartswick, *Gardens*, 105–8. Leonardo Taft, "Statues with a Story," *The Mentor* 1/12(May 1913): 1–10, provides a concise history of the Laocoon and the Dying Gaul. See also David L. Balch, "Paul's Portrait," 84–108, which offers a provocative insight on the Pauline counter-colonial message to the Pergamene frieze through the victorious suffering portrayed in the cross of Jesus Christ.

[38] Pollitt, *Art*, 79–92; Ferris, *Enemies*, 1–16 describes how negative typologies work to reduce the foreigners to a denigrated object. Hartswick, *Gardens*, 105–8. The authors agree on how representational art is used to freeze the vanquished in time.

[39] John R. Marszal, "Ubiquitous Barbarians: Representations of the Gauls at Pergamon and Elsewhere," in *From Pergamon to Sperlonga: Sculpture and Context* (ed. Nancy T. de Grummond and Brunilde S. Ridgway; Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 211–2, 222–3, agreeably notes the fact that negative portrayals of the Gauls "was a useful political ploy since the Greek of the Meccdonian successor states actually spent much time fighting other Greeks" (222). De Grummond, "Gauls and Giants," 260–1, thinks themes of "the iconography of the Gigantomachy" often associated with the altar of Pergamon actually predate it. Although her observation may be true, it is clear that the artistic synthesis is of Pergamene. Most commentators agree that most of these sculptures are Roman copies instead of originals [Paul Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus* (Michigan: The University of Michigan Press, 1988)].

[40] Marszal, 211–2, 222–3. Hartswick, *Gardens*, 104, explains the presence of sculptures such as the "Dying Gaul" in gardens as a "moral lesson" to the Gauls for their resilient irreverence to Apollo. These sentiments might have resulted from Brennus' ridiculing Apollo during the failed Celtic invasion of Delphi (Rankin, "Celts," 25).

Fig. 1. The dying Gaul or Capitoline Gaul, a Roman copy of the Greek original bronze sculptured between 230–220 B.C.E. in Pergamon to depict the defeat of barbarism. Photo © Erich Lessing/Art Resource, New York.

Fig. 2. A Gaul dies at the feet of the Goddess Themis at the Altar of Zeus erect in 180 B.C.E. by Enumenes II to celebrate the victory of Greek Gods over the Giant Gauls. It also illustrates the victory of Greek civilization over Gaulic barbarism. Photo © Erich Lessing/Art Resource, New York.

Fig. 3. A defeated Gaul commits suicide, killing his wife first and then himself. A Roman copy erected to commemorate the victory of the Pergamee Greek kings (Attallus I and Enumenes II) over the Gauls around 240 B.C.E. Photo © Erich Lessing/Art Resource, New York.

and admiration for the Gauls.[41] The idea that Greeks and Romans share the same prejudices toward other people and barbarians is somewhat overstated. Romans did admire Gallic bravery and even viewed people they characterize as barbarians assimilable to the Roman culture.[42]

The Inescapable Eyes of the Gods: The Socioreligious Aspects of Anatolian Galatian Life

Socioreligious Context

Scholars have devoted little attention to the socioreligious convictions of the Galatians except for a handful of crucial publications determined to shift debates from the old and new perspectives on Paul and the Southern and Northern Hypotheses to salient socioreligious aspects of Galatian life.[43] Having settled in Anatolia, the descendants of the ancient Celts, the Gauls/Galatians "were largely impervious to Greek culture. In their new homeland they continued to speak their own Celtic language and live in loose federations of villages just as their ancestors had done in central and western Europe."[44] These newcomers

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[41] Hartswick, *Gardens*, 105–08. Mark, "Fetishers, 'Marybukes,'" 95–7; idem, *Africans in European Eyes: The Portrayal of Black Africans in Fourteenth and Fifteenth Century Europe* (New York: Syracuse, 1974); Patricia A. Morton, "National and Colonial: The Musée des Colonies at the Colonial Exposition, Paris, 1931," *The Art Bulletin* 80/2(1998): 357–77; Patricia Leighten, "The White Peril and L'art nègre: Picasso, Primitivism, and Anticolonialism," *The Art Bulletin* 72/4(1990): 609–630. French colonialists re-assessed and appropriated Graeco-Roman sentiments. By reinterpreted, I am referring to the Roman and French belief that the savage or barbaric can be incorporated or assimilated. Insights into French colonists' characterization of Africans, especially the Diola of Senegal, are the subject of the next chapter.

[42] See Balch, "ΜΕΤΑΒΟΛΗ ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΩΝ," 139–88, on how Romans implemented their policy of incorporating all nations. Woolf makes similar arguments on the nature of the Romanization of the Gauls (Woolf, *Becoming Roman*, 54–60) distinguishing it from Hellenism. De Grummond poignantly posits that "Hellenistic" is not to be confused with authentic Greek; rather it is "Greekish"—in other words, a symbiosis of various cultural elements (de Grummond, "Gauls and Giants," 256). According to Woolf, Romanization created "a new imperial culture that supplanted earlier Roman cultures" (Woolf, "Beyond Romans," 341).

[43] Richard A. Horsley, ed., *Paul and Empire*; idem, *Paul and Politics: Ekklesia, Israel, Imperium, Interpretation* (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 2000; idem, *Paul and the Roman Imperial Order* (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 2004). Elliott, *Cutting Too Close*; Clinton E. Arnold, "'I am Astonished That You Are So Quickly Turning Away!' (Gal 1:6): Paul and the Anatolian Folk Belief," *NTS* 51(2005): 429–49; Kahl, "Reading Galatians," 21–43.

[44] Pollitt, *Art*, 80, avers that living in "loose confederations of villages" is a sociological practice they adopted from their ancestors. Mitchell, in his *Anatolia*, 1:13 and

became neighbors to two thousand Judean families who were sent from Babylon and Mesopotamia to squelch conflicts in Lydia and Phrygia caused by the seven year Seleucid conquest of 212–205 B.C.E.[45] Roman colonization and imperialism during the reign of Augustus led to the urbanization of most of the conquered Anatolian territories annexed to the initial Roman province of Galatia.[46]

Colonies were founded for military and Romanization purposes, thus giving "the impression of being miniatures and reproductions of Rome herself."[47] In the process, building enterprises of imperial portraits and temples honored and enhanced selected religious sites.[48] The openness of Roman religion paved the way for religious "assimilation and syncretism" allowing foreigners to "worship familiar gods under a different name" which Romans, themselves, often revered.[49]

42, speaks of an "arrangement between leaders" and "a loose federation of tribal groups." See also Pausanias, 10.21. Brennus, according to Trogus, mocks the gods' lack of generosity and therefore should not be feared (Justin, *Epit*. 24.6.4). Caesar provides a contrasting picture of Gallic piety when he depicts them as being superstitious people who observe festivals and human sacrifice—practices administered by the Druids. He also names their gods that erroneously have Roman names (Caesar, *Gallic War*, VI.17–18b). According to Mitchell, archaeological finds show no evidence of a Druid presence in Galatia and priests, if mentioned, do not have a prominent role (See Mitchell, *Anatolia*, 1:48, 194–5).

[45] Abraham Schalit, "The Letter of Antiochus III to Zeuxis Regarding the Establishment of Jewish Military Colonies in Phrygia and Lydia," *JQR* 50/4(April 1960): 289–318; Josephus, *Ant*. 12.148–53. Scholars debate the authenticity of this account but support the Jewish presence in these regions. See Paul R. Trebilco, *Jewish Communities in Asia Minor* (SNTSMS; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 5–6; idem, "The Christian and Jewish Eumeneian Formula," in *Negotiating Diaspora: Jewish Strategies in the Roman Empire* (ed. John M. G. Barclay; New York: T & T Clark, 2004), 66–88; Martin Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism: Studies in their Encounter in Palestine during the early Hellenistic Period* (vol. 1; trans. John Bowden; London: SCM Press LTD, 1974), 16. Supporting evidence is also found in another letter inscribed on a stele from Anchiochus to Zeuxis around 209 B.C.E. discussing the promotion of Nicanor to the status of Chief-priests of all the sanctuaries beyond Taurus region [Hasan Malay, "Letter of Antiochus III to Zeuxis with two Covering Letters (209 B.C.)" *EA* 10(1987): 7–15].

[46] Mitchell, *Anatolia*, 1:86–91. See also Nicholas Purcell's discussion of the Augustinian imperialism ("Augustus," *OCD*, 216–7).

[47] E. T. Salmon, *Roman Colonization Under the Republic* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1970), 153, 145–57. Florence Dupont, *Daily Life in Ancient Rome* (trans. Christopher Woodall; Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 1989/1992), 78–80. Although Romans saw Rome as the quintessential city in the world, colonized cities are its equal. Greek colonization was a cultural phenomenon different from Romanization. A parallel is French colonists referring to their colonies as *la France d'Outre-Mer*.

[48] Salmon, *Roman Colonization*, 153, 145–57. Nancy H. Ramage and Andrew Ramage, *Roman Art* (3rd ed.; New Jersey: Prentice Hall Inc., 2001), 73–76.

[49] Alston, *Aspects*, 308.

By Paul's time, Gauls/Galatians were already under colonial/imperial rule implemented through Rome's *humanitas/paideia*[50]—a policy for "receiving all nations."[51] *Humanitas* was so central to Roman identity formation that by the close of first century B.C.E., it

> had been formulated as a thoroughly Roman concept, embodying concepts of culture and conduct that were regarded by Romans as the hallmarks of the aristocracy in particular, yet also appropriate for mankind in general. *Humanitas* thus distinguished an elite as cultivated, enlightened, humane and so fitted to rule and lead by example, but it also encapsulated a set of ideals to which all men might aspire.[52]

That being the case, it should come as no surprise that *humanitas* was Rome's quintessential tool for civilizing barbarians.[53]

Since Romans understood imperialism as being divinely sanctioned,

> emperor worship was not a political subterfuge, designed to elicit loyalty of untutored provincials, but was one of the ways in which Romans themselves and provincials alongside them defined their own relationships with a new political phenomenon, an emperor whose powers and charisma were so transcendent that he appeared to them as both man and god.[54]

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[50] Woolf, *Becoming Roman*, 54–5.

[51] Balch, "The Cultural Origin," 500. For an updated discussion of the Roman colonial/imperial policy, see Balch, "ΜΕΤΑΒΟΛΗ ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΩΝ," 139–188. Rather than hegemony, it is what Greg Woolf terms the "emergence of a new, highly differentiated social formation incorporating a new cultural logic and new configuration of power" (Woolf, "Beyond Romans," 347).

[52] Woolf, *Becoming Roman*, 55, argues that *humanistas* coneys ideas like, "*benevolentia, observantia, mansuetudo*, and *facilitas* or *servitas, dignitas* and *gravitas*, (relating respectively to one's proper attitude towards others and one's personal qualities) and connected with concepts like *religio, fides* and *mores*, the basic building blocks out of which Roman society was held to be constructed." *Humanistas* also relates to the Greek idea of "human worth" ("*philanthrôpia*") and "like our notion of 'Culture,' the intellectual property of an educated an cultivated person, particularly in this case of a well-born male Greek" ("*paideia*"). Italics are his.

[53] Woolf, *Becoming Roman*, 56–60.

[54] Mitchell, *Anatolia*, 1:103. See also Woolf, "Beyond Romans," 1; idem, *Becoming Roman*, 48–76; Alston, 308–9, posits that "state-run religious practice was governed by various groups of priests organized into colleges. These colleges, often in association with magistrates, were responsible for public sacrifices and festivals. The emperor was a member of all the important colleges and also took overall authority over religious matters through his office of *Pontifex Maximus*, which came to be recognized as a supreme priesthood." This interconnects politics and religion. The apparent apotheosis of the emperor is debated. Pliny insists that "never should we flatter him as a god or a divinity" because "he himself is one of us" (Pliny, *Pan.* 2.3–4). See S. R. F. Price, *Rituals and Power: The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor* (Cambridge, MA; Cambridge University Press, 1984), 234–248.

This connection of political and religious spheres was for the purpose of securing divine benevolence and averting retribution from striking Rome. The prestige of the priests resulting from their role as mediators between deities and Romans explains why the

> …political elite tended to monopolise religious authority. Religion could be used to legitimise the political order, but it would be a mistake to see religion cynically, as a means of asserting political legitimacy. The interrelationship between religion and politics was too close for this. Political authority also brought legitimacy to religious authority: the political leaders were those one wanted to lead the people in peace and war. It was expected that politicians would secure the prosperity of the sate through the performance of rituals as they would look after the finances and military affairs. Religion and politics were not separate matters.[55]

The project of "receiving" or Romanizing Galatia and Pauline Christianity would have been in serious dialogue with the socioreligious traditions of Galatians[56] well beyond the regions of Phrygia and Lydia. I will now explore the Gallic/Galatian socioreligious context.

Gods, Goddesses, and People in Galatia

The influences on the socioreligious sphere of Anatolians by Hittite, Greek, and Roman cultures are well documented.[57] Thirteenth-century Hittite religious texts[58] and subsequent numismatic evidence[59] show that

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[55] Alston, *Aspects*, 309, 308–9.

[56] Lynn E. Roller, "The Great Mother at Gordion: The Hellenization of an Anatolian Cult," *JHS* 111(1991): 128–43; idem, "Attis on Greek Votive Monuments; Greek God or Phrygian? *Hesperia* 63/2(1994): 245–62. Brennus' impiety and irreverence for religious symbols and sanctuaries (Mitchell, *Anatolia*, 1:47; Diodorus, 22.9.4) is not what one reads in the confession/propitiation inscriptions.

[57] Joost Hazenbos, *The Organization of the Anatolian Local Cults During the Thirteenth Century B.C.E.: An Appraisal of the Hittite Cult Inventories* (CM 21; ed. T. Abusch, et al.; Boston: Brill, 2003), 1–9; Ronald L. Gorny, "Anatolia," *ABD* 1:228–33; Gregory McMahon, "History of Anatolia," *ABD* 1:233–36; idem, "Anatolian Mythology," *ABD* 1:237–240; Stephen Mitchell, "Phrygia," *OCD*, 1176–7; idem, *Anatolia*, 1:86–91.

[58] Marijana Ricl, "The Appeal to Divine Justice in the Lydian Confession-Inscriptions," *Forschungen in Lydien* (ed. E. Schwertheim; Asia Minor Studien 17; Bonn: Rudolf Habelt, 1995), 68. Hazenbos, *The Organization*, 12. In a long inscription reflecting this tradition, one reads of King Tudhaliias' invocation to the Sun goddess for help defeating his enemy and promises to never omit or neglect the due celebration of seasonal festivals.

[59] Eugene N. Lane, "Men: A Neglected Cult of Roman Asia Minor," *ANRW* 18.3:2161–74. Dennis J. McCarthy, *Treaty and Covenant: A Study in Form in the Ancient Oriental Documents and in the Old Testament* (AN; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1963),

the gods were feared for their powers to punish humans—an inescapable reality traceable back to the ancient Hittite religious cult.

Galatians, as newcomers, assimilated some of these elements as they settled in the Phrygian culture which is known to have worshiped a host of deities among which are Zeus, the Anatolian moon god "Mên or Attis," and the preeminent Phrygian "Mother of the gods" (also known as Agdistis).[60] Intriguing is the presence of the Ὅσιος καὶ Δίκαιος "Holy and Just" divinity known mostly in rural Phrygia[61] whose chief concern is the administration of justice. The presence of

96–177. The author discusses various aspects of Hittite treaties and covenants highlighting their similarities and dissimilarities to those found in the Hebrew Bible.

[60] Mitchell, "Population," *ANRW*, 1063–4; idem, "Galatia" *ABD* 2:871. Hans-Josef Klauck, *The Religious Context of Early Christianity: A Guide to Graeco-Roman Religions* (SNTW; trans. Brian McNeil; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 2000), 120–28. The idea that the Mother Goddess is the guardian of the Anatolian socioreligious world ignores the presence of other deities [Susan Elliott, "Choose Your Mother, Choose Your Master: Galatians 4:21–5:1 in the Shadow of the Anatolian Mother of the Gods," *JBL* 118(1999): 661–83; idem, *Cutting Too Close*, 94–232]. For the "Mother of the gods," see Strabo's comments (*Geogr* 12.5.3a). See also Maria Grazia Lancellotti, *Attis: Between Myth and History: King, Priest and God* (New York: Brill, 2002), 61–2, who provides a crucial discussion of the cult of Attis, its development and conceptualizations in the Graeco-Roman world insisting that Phrygian and Lydian kinship originated from the Hittite kingdom. Maarten Josef Vermaseren, *The Legend of Attis in Greek and Roman Art* (Études Préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'empire romaine; Leiden: Brill, 1966); idem, *Cybele and Attis: The Myth and the Cult* (London: Thames and Hudson, LTD, 1977). Robert Turcan, *The Cults of the Roman Empire* (trans. Antonia Nevill; Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 1992), 35–38, discusses forms the cult of the Mother of the gods took under imperial Rome. He notes the presence of Attis in Hellenistic art as well as the significance of the cult of the Mother of the gods in Pergamum. Initially, Turcan insists, the Mother of the gods is served by priestesses rather than galli. Elliott, *Cutting Too Close*, 13–14, 159–232, has a interesting discussion on the role of the galli.

[61] Marijana Ricl, "Hosios kai Dikaios: Première partie: Catalogue des inscriptions (Planches I–XVI)," *EA* 18(1991): 1–70; idem, "Hosios kai Dikaios: Seconde partie: Analyse," *EA* 19(1992): 71–2; 71–102. Although most of the inscriptions associated with this cult are Phrygian, some are found elsewhere in Galatia. Mitchell, *Anatolia*, 1:191, thinks that these cults are concerned with "a strict morality which was based on clearly defined notions of justice, proper behavior, piety to the gods, respect for divine authority, and a well-advanced fear of the divine vengeance." See the corroborating evidence in Eugene N. Lane, *Corpus Monumentorum Religionis Dei Menis* (CMRDM III; Leiden: Brill, 1976), henceforth referred to as CMRDM III, 26, where the expression Ὅσιος καὶ Δίκαιος is associated with a messenger/angel (Ἄγγελος). Stephen Mitchell, "The Cult of Theos Hypsistos between Pagans, Jews, and Christians," *in Pagan Monotheism in Late Antiquity* (eds., P. Athanassiadi and M. Frede; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), 112–14, argues that Judean colonists might have influenced the Anatolian cult of Mên with the Old Testament notion of divine justice. This influence is unlikely, in spite of the late development of "epigraphic habit" (Ramsay MacMullen, "The Epigraphic Habit," *AJP* 103(1982): 233–46.

these deities says something significant about the socioreligious nature of Anatolian life.

In his *Die Beicht im Zusammenhange mit der sakralen Rechtspflege in der Antike*, Franz S. Steinleitner studies many inscriptions, some of which he characterizes as "*die sakrale Rechtspflege*" during which culprits are sued and *defixiones* or *skeptron* erected publically or hanged in the temple.[62] Petrus Herrmann's later publication of various inscriptions supplements Steinleitner's work,[63] and Georg Petzl's[64] publication of 124 inscriptions, along with those of other epigraphists,[65] provides crucial insights into Galatian socioreligious convictions. These works confirm that, inculcated in the psyche of Anatolians, is the conviction that life is ordered and directed by omnipresent, omnipotent, and omniscient gods.[66]

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[62] Franz S. Steinleitner, *Die Beicht im Zusammenhänge mit der sakralen Rechtspflege in der Antike: Ein Beitrag zur näheren Kenntnis Kleinasiatisch-orientalischer Kulte der Kaiserzeit* (Leipzig: Dieterisch'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1913). Earlier related collections of inscriptions are published by W. H. Buckler, W. M. Calder and W. K. Guthrie, eds., *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua: vol. 4: Monuments and Documents from Eastern Asia and Western Galatia* (ASAR; England: Manchester University Press, 1933); henceforth referred to as *MAMA*.

[63] Petrus Herrmann, ed., *Tituli Asiae Minoris: vol. 5. Tituli Lydiae, Fasciculus 1, Regio Septentrionalis* (Wien, 1981), henceforth referred to as *TAM*.

[64] G. Petzl, *Die Beichtinschriften Westkleinasiens* (*EA* 22; Bonn: Habelt, 1994), 1–143, henceforth referred to as *BWK*. As for the dating of the inscriptions, Petzl writes: "Die früheste datierte Sühne-Inschrift (56) stammt aus dem Jahr 142 sull. Ära = 57/58 n. Chr., die späteste (11) von 348 sull. Ära = 263/264 n. Chr" (page, viii). Idem, "Neue inschriften aus Lydien (II): Addenda und Corrigenda zu 'Die Beichtinschriften Westkleinasiens' (Epigr. Anatol. 22, 1994)" *EA* 28(1997): 69–79.

[65] For other related inscriptions, see Hasan Malay, *Greek and Latin Inscriptions in the Mansia Museum* (OAW DpH 237; ETAM, 19; Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1994); idem, "New Confession-Inscription in the Manisa and Bergama Museums," *EA* 12(1988): 147–52; Marijana Ricl, "CIG 4142—A Forgotten Confession-Inscription from North-West Phrygia," *EA* 29(1997): 35–43. Her dissertation entitled, *Svest o grehu u maloazijskim kultovima rimskog doba: Ispovedanje ritualnih i etickih sagresenja u Meoanskim i Frigijskim Kultuwima* (Beograd, 1995) = *La conscience du péché dans les cultes Anatoliens à l'époque romaine: La confession des fautes rituelle et éthiques dans les cultes Méoniens et Phrygiens* (Belgrade, 1995) has not been accessible to me in the United States of America; however, she kindly sent me a summary of it in French (pages 131–142). See also CMRDM III. Various inscriptions are collected by Stephen Mitchell, *Regional Epigraphic Catalogues of Asia Minor II: The Ankara District: The Inscriptions of North Galatia* (BAAM 4; BAR International Series, 135; Great Britain: Oxford, 1982); William M. Ramsay, "Notes and Inscriptions from Asia Minor," *AJAHEA* 1(April–July 1885): 138–51; W. M. Calder "Corpus Incriptionum Neo-Phrygiarum-II," *JHS* 33(1913): 97–104; idem, "Corpus Incriptionum Neo-Phrygiarum-III," *JHS* 46(1926): 22–28.

[66] Angelos Chaniotis, "Under the Watchful Eyes of the Gods: Divine Justice in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor," in *The Greco-Roman East: Politics, Culture, Society* (YCS; ed. Stephen Colvin; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 1–43; Mitchell, *Anatolia*, 1:188–9. People understand and experience the gods as protectors

These deep convictions are etched on tablets of stone, the content of which scholars variably characterize as either "confession," reconciliation" or "propitiation" inscriptions.[67] As he listens to their structural and verbal syntax, Aslak Rostad hears reconciliatory voices between culprits and deities.[68] Eckhard J. Schnabel, on the other hand, insists Galatian traditional leaders dedicated these public confessions to their local deities as a counter-response to the early Christian confessional movement. To bolster his argument, he marshals evidence from Judean and New Testament authors to show how Judeo-Christian traditions might have given rise to these confessions—an effort that, he insists, was designed to solidify Galatians' socioreligious convictions.[69] Even so, the unique Eastern character of these "confessional rituals" is undeniable.[70] What is the nature of these inscriptions? What do they reveal about the people and their faith in the gods?

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of the dead and regulators of the "conduct and relationships of the living" (Mitchell, *Anatolia*, 1:189).

[67] Aslak Rostad, "Confession or Reconciliation?: The Narrative Structure of the Lydian and Phrygian 'Confession Inscriptions'," *Symbolae Osloenses* 77(2002): 147, argues that only words such as ἐξομολογέομαι or ὁμολογέω, "I confess," account for a true confession citing *BWK*, 100, 106, 116 to bolster his argument. Eckhard J. Schnabel, "Divine Tyranny and Public Humiliation: A Suggestion for the Interpretation of the Lydian and Phrygian Confession Inscriptions," *Novum Testamentum* XLV (2003): 160, 187, 160–188.

[68] Rostad, "Confession," 147, 145–164. Rostad's point may have been well taken but he failed to acknowledge the fact that in spite of his syntactical analysis of the inscriptions, there is a clear indication that a confessional aspect of these inscriptions is obvious, as Schnabel argued. Against Schnabel, confession for wrongdoing predates the Christian movement as argued by Ricl (Ricl, *La conscience du péché*, 132; idem, "Appeal to Divine Justice," 67–8). For details on this subject see Hendrik S. Versnel, "Sin," *OCD*, 1410–11; Gabriel Thome, "Crime and Punishment, Guilt and Expiation: Roman Thought and Vocabulary," *Acta Classica* xxxv (1992): 73–98.

[69] Ibid., 182–88. These similarities are limited in that Christian confessions do not anticipate punishment from God (see page 186). Schnabel citing Pliny, *Epist.* 10.96.8–10 shows that Roman leaders also tried to resist and displace the Christian message. See Vernon H. Neufeld, *The Earliest Christian Confession* (NTTS; Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1963), 13–29, on what the earliest Christian meant by the term confession. The earliest Christians confessed Jesus as the Christ. This confession underwent some developments soon after the resurrection and was "broadened in meaning to express the significance of the death and resurrection of Jesus" (142). Interestingly, Neufeld seems to ignore the act of confessing sin.

[70] Marijana Ricl, "A Forgotten Confession-Inscription," 36. This argument is supported by Raffaele Pettazzoni, "Confession of Sins and the Classics," *HTR* 30/1(January 1937): 1–14, who further supports the idea that "confession of sins, in the Greek world as well as among the other Indo-european peoples, did not belong originally to the Indo-european element;" rather it was an oriental practice (14). This evidence makes Schnabel's conclusion unlikely.

Curses, Prayers, and the Quest for Divine Justice

The use of *defixiones*, κατάδεσμοι or curse tablets is widely attested in the Graeco-Roman world.[71] They were feared and deemed illegal by most classical writers.[72] Most *defixiones* were inscribed on small metallic sheets that were then either buried in the tomb of an ἄωρος "a person untimely dead," or placed in chthonic sanctuaries or in wells.[73] According to Christopher A. Faraone, they serve as "effective 'preemptive strikes' against a formidable foe in anticipation of a possible or even probable future defeat" by incapacitating their victim by binding them or nailing them down.[74] Hendrik S. Versnel discusses another group of *defixiones* he characterizes as "'judicial prayers' or 'prayers for legal help'"[75] because, in distinction to ordinary *defixiones* or curses, these authors pled for divine retribution on those who had wronged them.

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[71] Christopher A. Faraone, "The Agnostic Context of Early Greek Binding Spells," in *Magika Hiera: Ancient Greek Magic and Religion* (ed. Christopher A. Faraone and Dirk Obbink; New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 3–32. Johan H. M. Strubbe, "Cursed be he that moves my bones," in *Magika Hiera: Ancient Greek Magic and Religion* (ed. Christopher A. Faraone and Dirk Obbink; New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 33–59; Hendrik S. Versnel, "Κόλασαι τοὺς ἡμᾶς τοιούτους ἡδέως βλέποντες: 'Punish those who rejoice in our misery': On Curse Texts and *Schadenfreude*," in *The World of Ancient Magic* (PNIA 4; ed. David J. Jordan et al.; Bergen: The Norwegian Institute at Athens, 1999), 125–9. Plato, *Laws*, 11. 933d, thinks the laws of the state should put to death those who injure a person with spells "καταδέσις." This would cure people of fears (φόβους) of spells and incantations. In his *Resp.* 2.364c, he uses a variant of καταδέσις, namely, κατάδεσμος. See "I bind on," in Sir 7:8; 30.7 (LXX, Rahlfs). See also "καταδεσμεύω," *LSJM*, 889.

[72] Plato, *Laws*, 11. 933; idem, *Resp.* 2.364. Pliny, *NH.* 28.4.19, insists that "there is no one who does not fear to be spellbound by curse tablets." Of a person who fails to repay his or her debts, Seneca angrily charges: "…you invoke curses upon him and call down terrible imprecations upon someone who ought instead to be sacred to you" (Seneca, *On Benefits*, 6.35.4). Tacitus thinks that spells and curse tablets were responsible of the death of Germanicus, the adoptive son of Tiberius (Tacitus, *Ann.* 2.69). Emperor Tiberius was also targeted by a cousin of Germanicus' wife with curse tablets and spells (Tacitus, *Ann.* 4.52. See also *Ann.* 12.31, 65).

[73] Faraone, "The Agnostic Context," 3–4; H. S. Versnel, "Beyond Cursing: The Appeal to Justice in Judicial Prayers," in *Magika Hiera: Ancient Greek Magic and Religion* (ed. Christopher A. Faraone and Dirk Obbink; New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 61. Not all *defixiones* are written on pieces of lead. On the placing *defixiones* in graves, see Tacitus, *Ann.* 2.69.

[74] Faraone, "The Agnostic Context," 4; 4–6. They are used against a rival, in business transactions, love spells, and other mysterious usages. Versnel, "Beyond Cursing," 61, insists that the binding or nailing down effect could lead to illness and even death.

[75] According to Versnel, "Beyond Cursing," 60–74, some of the *defixiones* were written on materials other than lead tablets. Their relentless quest for justice from some wrongdoers and the kind of transactions they imply between the deity and the author has parallels in Diola communities.

The justice or revenge often sought has to do with various offenses; and strikingly, the worshiper relies on the deity's capacity to avenge and administer justice on his/her behalf.[76] From texts unearthed at the Knidian sanctuary of Demeter (Asia Minor), we learn that the invoked deity was expected to inflict culprits with some illness which would force them to offer a public confession of their transgressions.[77] Lycians, in Asia Minor, not only prayed to the gods, they also placed imprecations on the graves of their loved ones who had died to ward off possible tomb raiders, threatening them with fines and divine liabilities.[78] Curses are not only used for tombstone protection; their use covers a wide range of social concerns in the ancient world.[79]

For the purpose of this work it suffices to note that whereas prayers for justice include arguments designed to motivate the deity to action, confession/propitiation inscriptions show that such a divine action has already been taken.[80] The Apostle Paul also pronounced curses against unspecified individuals who would dare propagate another gospel

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[76] Versnel, "Beyond Cursing," 72–3, discusses crucial terms such as ἀνιερόω, ἀνατίθημι indicating that the culprit is consecrated/dedicated to the deity. In cases involving theft, the author simply transfers either the stolen property or the culprit to the divinity thereby dedicating him/her to the god. The owner expects the stolen property to be returned to the temple and, sometimes, recovered by the plaintiff upon paying a fee. See also John G. Gager, *Curse Tablets and Binding Spells from the Ancient World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992); Marvin Meyer et al., *Ancient Christian Magic: Coptic Texts of Ritual Power* (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 1994), 175–6.

[77] Chaniotis, "Under the Watchful Eyes," 7, also points to the fact that curses were pronounced against "theft, slander, embezzlement" or "physical injury" and notes that the variable words describing the punishment are πεπρημένος "burning" (rarely κολάσιν, κολάζειν "punish"). The idea of burning stands for either "'burning with fever' or 'burning in shame.'"

[78] Strubbe, "Cursed be," 33–59. Curses' various characterizations of the culprit range from ἀσεβής, "impiety," ἱερόσυλος, "temple robber," to ἁμαρτωλός, "sinner." In some cases, the culprit's sin and punishment are specified while in others they are not. Judeans and Christians did follow similar practices to a varying degree. Also, *defixiones* "judicial prayers" tend to focus on divine help for vindication [see Versnel, "Beyond Cursing," 61–105; idem, "'May He Not Able to Sacrifice…'": Concerning a Curious Formula in Greek and Latin Curses," *ZPE* 58(1985): 247–69]. For a related work discussing *defixiones* and anger as it relates to curses and magic, see Christopher A. Faraone, "Thumos as Masculine Ideal and Social Pathology in Ancient Greek Magical Spells," in *Ancient Anger* (YCS; vol. 32; ed. Susanna Braund and Glenn W. Most; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 144–162.

[79] Gager, *Curse Tablets*, 175–99; 243–64; Meyer, *Ancient Christian Magic*; Stanley Gevirtz, "West-Semitic Curses and the Problem of the Origins of Hebrew Law," *VT* 11/2(1961): 137–158; *ANET*, 346–51, 646–51, 658.

[80] Versnel, "Beyond Cursing," 68–75, 81–93; Versnel, "Κόλασαι," 125–9; Chaniotis, "Under the Watchful Eyes," 7–8.

[(ἀνάθεμα) Gal 1:8–9)].[81] Ἀραί "curses" are a widespread phenomenon in Asia Minor as non-Judeans[82] and Judean[83] tombstones in Anatolia attest. They are also found in Judean and Christian texts as ἀρα or its equivalent κατάρα.[84] Paul uses the latter in his crucial dialogue with Torah authors [especially the Deuteronomist (s)], his fellow Judeans (Torah hermeneuts) and Galatian converts.[85]

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[81] ἀνάθεμα occurs 5 times in Paul's writings: once in Romans (Rom 9:3), twice in 1 Corinthians (1 Cor 12:2; 16:22) and twice in Galatians (Gal 1:8–9). Derived from ἀνατίθημι, "lay down, set up as a votive offering,…" (ἀνεθέμεν Gal 2:2) with its Hebrew equivalent חֵרֶם, its passive meaning ἀνακεῖμα further evinces the significance of the word in Galatians (see *LSJM*, 107; BDAG, 63; 73–4). The Hebrew term חֵרֶם and its derivatives (*BDB*, 355–6) have a chilling resonance with a postcolonial witness. Paul also warns: Μὴ πλανᾶσθε, θεὸς οὐ μυκτηρίζεται ὃ γὰρ ἐὰν σπείρῃ ἄνθρωπος, τοῦτο καὶ θερίσει· "Do not be deceived for whatever a person sows this he will reap," (Gal 6:7). Paul's cautionary words would have been at home with Anatolians. Douglas Stuart, "Curse," *ABD* 1:1218–9, says curses are used to enforce covenant relationship. Behind the μυκτηρίζω "I mock," is the idea of contemptuous evasion of God's governance of human affairs—a conduct God would not tolerate (see "μυκτηρίζω, ἐκμυκτηρίζω," *TLNT* 2.534–5; *TDNT* 4.796–99). Curses and their relevance to this work will be further discussed in the following chapters.

[82] Strubbe, "Cursed be," 36–41. These curses appear to include magical and religious elements.

[83] Johan H. M. Strubbe, "Curses Against Violation of Graves in Jewish Epitaphs of Asia Minor," in *Studies in Early Jewish Epigraphy* (ed. Jan Willem van Henten and Peter Willem van der Horst; New York: Brill, 1994), 33–59; Trebilco, *Jewish Communities*, 73. Against Trebilco who thinks Anatolians borrowed curses from their Jewish neighbors, Strubbe argues that they were of a pagan origin. For a detailed treatment of Jewish epitaphs, see Peter W. van der Horst, *Ancient Jewish Epitaphs: An Introductory Survey of a Millennium of Jewish Funerary Epigraphy (300 B.C.E.–700 C.E.)* (ed. Tj. Baarda and A. S. van der Woude; Kampen: Kok Pharos Publishing House, 1991). Todd A. Wilson, *The Curse of the Law and the Crisis in Galatia: Reassessing the Purpose of Galatians* (WUNT 225; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007), 18, argues that Paul was insisting on the "sufficiency of the Spirit to enable the Galatians to fulfil the law and thereby avoid its curse." A crucial part of Wilson's work deals with Anatolian fear of divine retribution as a probable cause for their wanting to be circumcised (see pages 69–94 especially 93–94).

[84] In Galatians, Paul specifically uses the nominal and adjectival forms (κατάρα, ἐπικατάρατος) "cursed," in dialogue with Deut 21:23 and 27:26. Only Rom 3:14 uses ἀρά with reference to the law and the divine role in removing the curse [See "καταράομαι," *NIDNT*, 1.416–7; "ἀνάθεμα, ἀνάθημα, κατάθεμα," *TDNT*, 1.354–6; Wilson, *The Curse*, 21–45]. Other New Testament writers use it to steer humans from assuming divine prerogatives (James 3:10).

[85] That Χριστὸς ἡμᾶς ἐξηγόρασεν ἐκ τῆς κατάρας τοῦ νόμου γενόμενος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν κατάρα, ὅτι γέγραπται· ἐπικατάρατος πᾶς ὁ κρεμάμενος ἐπὶ ξύλου,… (Gal 3:13). I take up this idea in the fourth and fifth chapters because it is crucial to my sociopostcolonial hermeneutics in the Diola West African context.

Voices Etched on Stones: The Divine Demand for Confession-Propitiation

Anatolians not only used *defixiones* to curse, pray, and protect the graves of their loved ones who have died, they also confessed their transgressions to the gods through such texts. Most of the confession/expiation inscriptions were unearthed in Lydia and Phrygia.[86] These texts convey a revealing message about the people's self-understanding, their faith in the role of the gods in regulating their socioreligious life.[87] Although scholars disagree as to whether to characterize these Lydian and Phrygian inscriptions as mere confessions—a disagreement based on structure, syntax, and vocabulary, they recognize that these inscriptions tell crucial stories about Anatolian socioreligious life.

A common Greek belief is that misfortune and natural disasters were divine punishments for human transgression/impurity—the "ἀκαθαρσία of some individual" (*SEG*, xix.127; Gal 5:19).[88] Confession/propitiation inscriptions record specific wrongdoings ranging from grave violation, theft, perjury, refusal to pay debts, defiling sanctuary precincts, sexual offenses, failure to perform agrarian service for the gods, sorcery,[89] and to the failure to quickly (ταχέος) obey divine orders.[90] The process is such that an illness[91] or a theophany δι' ἀνγέλου "by an angel" or ὑπὸ

[86] Ricl, "CIG 4142," 35–6. Some of these inscriptions are collected and commented on by Kevin M. Miller, "Apollo Lairbenos," *Numen* 32/1(1985): 46–70. According to Ricl, a handful of inscriptions with similar content were unearthed in neighboring areas indicating that these ritual practices were not restricted to Lydia and Phrygia. See also Mitchell, *Anatolia*, 1:191.

[87] According to Mitchell, *Anatolia*, 1:189.

[88] R. Parker, *Miasma, Pollution and Purification in Early Greek Religion* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), 218–19; Chaniotis, "Under the Watchful Eyes," 2–3.

[89] Mitchell, *Anatolia*, 1:188–94. The author of *BWK*, 116, admits to having entered sacred space unknowingly (see Petzl, *BWK*, xii–xiii, for further discussion). See also CMRDM III.16–38, where Lane discusses various elements associated with the worship of Mên in Lydia in the vicinity of Kula. He devotes his discussion to prayers made by worshipers inscribed in monuments. First, worshipers of Mên in Lydia prayed to the gods for various needs. In votive inscriptions which bear many of these prayers, are answers by the gods and "the thankfulness of the worshipper" (CMRDM III.17). According to Lane, the dates range from 66/7 A.D. to 260/70 A.D. This dating is slightly different from Petzl's [compare with Ära = 57/58 n. Chr., die späteste (11) von 348 sull. Ära = 263/264 n. Chr" (*BWK*, viii, 35, 69); Steinleitner, *Die Beicht*, 10–46]. They prayed to the gods to heal their eyes, feet, legs, breasts, property such as mules, their own or foster children, brothers, and "to get a wife" (CMRDM III.18).

[90] *BWK*, 57 = *TAM*, 5.1.460. See also CMRDM III. 1.24, with reference to ways of divine communication (κατ' ὄναρ). In some inscriptions the command (κατ' ἐπιταγήν) leaves unclear how this is to be conveyed to the culprit.

[91] Angelos Chaniotis, "Illness and Cures in the Greek Propitiatory Inscriptions and Dedications of Lydia and Phrygia," *Ancient Medicine in its Socio-Cultural Context: Papers*

ὀνείρου "by a dream" would force the culprit to visit the sanctuary for oracular consultation.[92] This would then lead a culprit to offer, in some cases, a propitiatory sacrifice "λύειν, ἱλάσκεσθαι, ἐξιλάσκεσθαι," a public confession "ὁμολογεῖν, ἐξομολογεῖν," that would affirm the power "δύναμις, δυνάμεις," of the gods, the setting up of a stele "στηλογραφεῖν," often requested "ἐπιζητέω, ἀναζητέω," by the god, and conclusive remarks of a renewed commitment to praise the deity thereafter "ἀπὸ νῦν εὐλογῶ,".[93]

Anatolians, especially those of Phrygia and Lydia, saw themselves as servants and slaves of their deities whom they revere with religious acts of prostration, prayer for mercy and confession of sin.[94] For instance, an inscription has Athenaios agreeing to the many punishments (κολάσεις)[95] by god (ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτείας ἄγνοιαν) he received for sins of omission revealed to him ὑπὸ ὀνείρου during which the deity demanded (ἀπῃτήθην, ἀπαιτέω) στήλλην καὶ ἀνέγραψα τὰς δυνάμις τοῦ θεοῦ. Εὐχαριστῶν ἐσστηλογράφησα.…[96]

Another text reads: "…I was punished" and ἐξωμολογησάμην, "I confessed," and ἀνέθηκα εὐλογίαν, "I set forth a praise," ὅτι ἐγενόμην

Read at the Congress Held at Leiden University 13–15 April 1992 (vol. 1; ed. Ph. J. van der Eijk et al.; Atlanta, GA: Institute for the History of Medicine, 1995), 323–4. Wrongdoers are pursued (ἐπιζητέω) by the gods whose anger can only be appeased by divinely orchestrated rituals that would often require confessions engraved on steles in praise to the powers of the gods. Chaniotis characterizes these texts as honest expressions "of the feelings and attitudes of simple people towards illness, cure, medicine and doctors" (ibid., 325).

[92] *BWK*, 11, 106; Arnold, "'I am Astonished,'" 434–5; Rostad, "Confession," 146–7.

[93] Versnel, "Beyond Cursing," 60–106. See also *BWK* and Schnabel, "Divine Tyranny," 161.

[94] Steinleitner, *Die Beicht*, 76–82. Most scholars understand this kind of religious devotion to be an exclusively Oriental phenomenon. According to H. W. Pleket, "Religious History as the History of Mentality: The 'Believer' as Servant of the Deity in the Greek World," in *Faith, Hope and Worship: Aspect of Religious Mentality in the Ancient World* (ed. H. S. Versnel; Leiden: Brill, 1981), 155–6, earlier traces of religious prostration in Greek religion resulted from Eastern religious influence. See also Arrian, *Anab.* 4.9–11.9.

[95] The reference to divine κόλασις "punishment" (*BWK*, 11, 18, 69) or κολάζειν "to punish" [*BWK*, 5–7, 11–12, 22–23, 33–35, 41–45, 48–50, 75–77, 83–96, 107–111 and G. H. R. Horsley, "Two Confession Texts from Graeco-Roman Phrygia," *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity: A Review of the Greek Inscriptions and Papyri* 1(1981): 32.7; henceforth referred to as *NewDocs*] is a fundamental feature of confession/expiation inscriptions (ἁμαρτάνειν, "to transgress," *as recorded in BWK*, 24, 66, 73, 74, 100, 109, 112, 117, 118) or "sin, transgression" ἁμαρτιά, ἁμάρτημα (*BWK*, 5, 11, 23–23, 40, 95; 4, 22).

[96] *BWK*, 11. Rostad, "Confession," 151, argues only inscriptions where terms like ἐξομολογέομαι "to confess," "agree," "admit," and ὁμολογέω "to agree," "concede," "confess," "promise,"…) occur can be characterized as confessions.

ὁλόκ[λ]ηρος, "because I became whole."[97] A word (ἐξ)ιλάσκομαι) about the pleasure of the god (s) is supplied with a concluding word of thanks or praise (εὐχαριστέω or εὐλογία).[98] The concern for ritual purity,[99] social justice[100] and obedience to the gods (in acknowledging answered prayer[101] and related religious responsibilities) are vital elements of Anatolian faith. In an inscription concerned with purity a worshiper says:

> [……] λίου Ἀπολλ[ωνί]ου δι τὸ ἡμαρτηκέ̣νε̣, ἐπεὶ τὼ χωρὶ ᾽πισέτυχει καὶ διῆθα τὴν κώμη β΄ ἄναγνα· λημόνησα· παρήμη εἰς τὴν κώμη· παραγέλω μηδεὶς καταφρεινήσει τῶ θεῶν, ἐπεὶ ἔξει τὴν σείλην ἐζοπράρειῳ[ν]. Ἐπόισ᾽ ἐτόνμετον ἡ προγεμένε [Εὐτ]υχεὶς καὶ ἐξομολογήσα[το] καὶ ε̣ἰλάθη.[102]
>
> I went up to the place and through the village twice unpurified. I forgot. I returned to the village. I announce that no one should despise the god since he will have the stele as an example. The abovementioned Eutycheis did this of his own accord and confessed and has supplicated.

In a mid-second-century confession found in Lydia (Kula), Tatias, the supposed culprit publically placed or hung curses in the temple

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[97] *BWK*, 43, *TAM*, 238. Antonia, the daughter of Antonius also agrees/confesses to have entered the sanctuary precincts of Apollo Bozenos with filthy cloths.

[98] Rostad, "Confession," 145–63, provides a simple but good structure to these inscriptions observing key introductory features such as divine name(s) in the dative case, a limited or detailed account of the sins, in some cases, preceded by a divine investigation giving rise to a reconciliatory word [ἱλάσκεσθαι] between the culprit and the god(s). Respective statements such as "I wrote down the powers of the god on a stele" or ἀνέθηκα/ἀνέστησα "I set forth" would often be supplied, and often conclude with expressions of gratitude εὐχαριστῶν ἐσστηλογράφησα and promise ἐνγράψαι τὰς δυνάμις τοῦ θεοῦ.

[99] *BWK*, 6, 19, 36, 43, 55, 98, 106, 110, 112, 115, 116, 120 (sexual impurity), *BWK*, 117 (failure of female temple servants to keep purity laws after sexual intercourse), *BWK*, 82 (sexual misconduct), *BWK*, 1, 123 (eating meat improperly sacrificed).

[100] *BWK*, 56. See also *BWK*, 60 = *TAM* 5.1.251. Μηνὶ ᾽Αξιοττηνῷ. Ἐπὶ Ἑρμογένης Γλύκωνος καὶ Νιτωνις Φιλοξένου ἐλοιδόρησαν ᾽Αρτεμιδωρον περὶ οἶνον, Ἀρτεμίδωρος πιττάκιον ἔδωκεν. Ὁ θεὸς ἐκολάσετο τὸν Ἑρμογένην, καὶ εἱλάσετο τὸν θεὸν καὶ ἀπὸ νῦν εὐδοξεῖ (?). "To Men Axiottenos. Because Hermogenes, son of Glykon, and Nitonis, daughter of Philoxenos, slandered Artemidoros on account of wine, Artemidoros submitted a tablet (with written complaint). The god punished Hermogenes, and he propitiated the god and henceforth praises him." The tablet "πιττάκιον" is either fixed or hung in a public area of the temple so it can be seen or read by worshipers (Versnel, "Beyond Cursing," 45). Scepters were also raised in the temple with a similar purpose (44–5). For a similar inscription that names the culprit, see *BWK*, 68 = *TAM* 5.1.317; Mitchell, *Anatolia*, 1:192. In another inscription parents were punished for abandoning their children (*BWK*, 35 = *TAM* 5.1.231. *BWK*, 71 (disobedience such as mocking the deity) and unbelief (*BWK*, 114 = *MAMA* 4.287).

[101] Authors of *BWK*, 45, 65, 101, confessed their failures to keep various vows.

[102] *BWK*, 112 = *MAMA*, 4.285.

to refute false charges leveled against her.[103] This inscription includes key terms characteristic of a confession/propitiation inscription such as κολάζω, ἐπεζήτέω, λύτρον,[104] ἐξειλασάμενοι τοὺς θεούς, and the expression καὶ ἀπὸ νοῖν εὐλογοῦμεν στηλλογραφήσαντες τὰς δυνάμις τῶν θεῶν "henceforth we praise them writing the mighty works of the gods on a stele."

Whereas some inscriptions do not specify the wrongdoings that gave rise to confessions, others include detailed descriptions, such as of the affected body parts.[105] In a lengthy inscription, Zeus explains that he punished Theodoros' repeated sexual offense.

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[103] *BWK*, 69 . . . Ἐπὶ Ἰουκοῦνδος ἐγένετο ἐν διαθέσι μανικῇ καὶ ὑπὸ πάντων διαφημίσθη ὡς ὑπὸ Τατιας τῆς πενθερᾶς αὐτοῦ φάρμακον αὐτῷ δεδόσθαι, ἡ δὲ Τατιας ἐπέστησεν σκῆπτρον καὶ ἀρὰς ἔθηκεν ἐν τῷ ναῷ ὡς ἱκανοποιοῦσα περὶ τοῦ πεφημίσθαι αὐτὴν ἐν συνειδήσι τοιαύτῃ, οἱ θεοὶ αὐτὴν ἐποίησαν ἐν κολάσει, ἣν οὐ διέφυγεν· ὁμοίως καὶ Σωκράτης ὁ υἱὸς αὐτῆς παράγων τὴν ἴσοδον τὴν ἰς τὸ ἄλσος ἀπάγουσαν δρέπανον κρατῶν ἀμπελοτόμον, ἐκ τῆς χειρὸς ἔπεσεν αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τὸν πόδαν καὶ οὕτως μονημέρῳ κολάσει ἀπηλλάγη. Μεγάλοι οὖν οἱ θεοὶ οἱ ἐν Αζιττοις· ἐπεζήτησαν λυθῆναι τὸ σκῆπτρον καὶ τὰς ἀρὰς τὰς γενομένας ἐν τῷ ναῷ· ἃ ἔλυσαν τὰ Ἰοκούνδου καὶ Μοσχίου, ἔγγονοι δὲ τῆς Τατιας, Σωκράτεια καὶ Μοσχᾶς καὶ Ἰουκοῦνδος καὶ Μενεκράτης κατὰ πάντα ἐξειλασάμενοι τοὺς θεούς, καὶ ἀπὸ νοῖν εὐλογοῦμεν στηλλογραφήσαντες τὰς δυνάμις τῶν θεῶν. "…when Jucundus got into a manic state, and it was being rumored by everyone that poison was being given him by Tatia his mother-in-law, Tatia set up a specter and placed curses [ἀράς] in the temple so that she would get her satisfaction about her being talked about in such a blameworthy way. But the gods put her in a punishment from which she did not escape. Likewise, her son Socrates, as he was going through the entrance that leads to the sacred grove holding a grape-cutting sickle in his hand, dropped it from his hand onto his foot, and so he died of the punishment that same day. Great then are the gods in Azitta. They commanded [ἐπεζήτησαν] that the scepter and the curses that were in the temple be cancelled [λυθήναι], and Jucundus' and Moschius' children, Tatias' grandchildren, Sokrateia and Moschas and Jucundus and Menekrates did cancel (them) in all ways propitiating the gods. From now on we bless them, writing the deities' deeds of power [τὰς δυνάμις] on a stele" (trans. Elliott, *Cutting Too Close*, 69–70). Versnel provides three key aspects of the term ἐπιζήτέω from a syntactical perspective. The word conveys the idea of "demand" when the direct object is a thing, "to prosecute, to punish" when it is a person, and when used intransitively "to investigate," probe or inquire (Versnel, "Beyond Cursing," 78–9. *BWK*, 108 = *MAMA* 4.281 refers to the divine act of investigating). The word covers a wide range of meanings, especially when one considers its derivatives such as ἀναζητέω and ἐξεζήτέω). For details on the meaning of these variants of ἐπεζήτέω see *BWK*, 10 and 35. A divine demand or prosecution occurs in case of property theft of all sorts (*BWK*, 3, 13, and 46 equivalent to *TAM* 5.1.159; 5.1.180; and 5.1.510). Although the innocence of Tatias is debated, she appeared to have been falsely accused.

[104] A crucial discussion of λύτρον "ransom," is found in *NewDocs* 2(1982): 90.58 and *NewDocs* 3(1978): 72.46; See Elliott, *Cutting Too Close*, 80–1. Paul does not us the term λύτρον in Galatians.

[105] Affected body parts range from eye ailments (*BWK*, 5, 16, 29, 45, 49, 50, 85, 90, 93 and *TAM*, 238), speech impediment (*BWK*, 1), affected breasts (*BWK*, 63, 95, 70,

…ἐκολασόμην τὰ ὄματα τὸν Θεόδωρον κατὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας, ἃς ἐπύησεν. Συνεγενόμην τῇ πεδίσχῃ τ<οῦ> Ἁπλοκόμα, τῇ Τροφίμῃ, τῇ γυναικὶ τῇ Εὐτύχηδος εἰς τὸ πλετώριν· ἀπαίρι τὴν πρώτην ἁμαρτίαν προβάτῳ[ν], πέρδεικι, ἀσφάλακι. Δευτέρα ἁμαρτία· ἀλλὰ δοῦλος ὢν τῶν θεῶν τῶν ἐν Νονου συνεγενόμην τῇ Ἀριάγνῃ τῇ μοναυλίᾳ· ϛαίρι χύρῳ, θείννῳ ἐχθύει. Τῇ τρίτῃ ἁμαρτίᾳ συνεγενόμην Ἀρεθούσῃ μοναυλίᾳ· ϛαίρι ὄρνειθει, στρουθῷ, περιστερᾷ, κύ(πρῳ) κρειθοπύρων, πρό(χῳ) οἴνου· κύ(προν) πυρῶν καθαρὸς τοῖς εἱεροῖς, πρό(χον) ά. Ἔσχα παράκλητον τὸν Δείαν· εἴδαι, κατὰ τὰ πυήματα πεπηρώκιν, νῦν δὲ εἱλαζομένου αὐτοῦ τοὺς θεοὺς κὲ στηλογραφοῦντος ἀνερύσετον τὰς ἁμαρτίας. Ἠρωτημαίνος ὑπὸ τῆς συνκλήτου· εἴλεος εἶμαι ἀναστανομένης τῆς στήλλην μου, ᾗ ἡμέρᾳ ὥρισα· ἀνύξαις τὴν φυλακήν, ἐξαφίω τὸν κατάδικον διὰ ἐνιαυτοῦ κὲ μηνῶν ι΄ περιπατούντων.

…I have punished Theodorus in respect to his eyes in consequence of the sins, which he committed. In the *praetorium* I had sexual intercourse with Trophine, the servant of Haplokomas, who is the wife of Eutyches. He (i.e. Theodorus) takes the first (the sin) away with a sheep, a partridge, a mole. Second sin: although I was a sacred servant of the gods in Nonou, I had sexual intercourse with an unmarried Ariagne. He (i.e. Theodorus) takes (the sin) away with a piglet, a tuna fish. At the third sin, I had sexual intercourse with an unmarried Arethousa. He (i.e. Theodorus) takes (the sin) away with a chicken (or rooster), a sparrow, a pigeon, and with a *kypros* of wheat mixed with barley and with a *prochos* of wine. Being pure (Theodorus gives) to the sacred personnel a *kypros* of wheat and one *prochos* (of wine). As my legal advisor I got Zeus. Behold, I had blinded him in consequence of his actions, but now he has made good his mistakes by propitiating the gods and by erecting an inscribed stele. Asked by the council: I am merciful, because my stele gets set up the very day I have fixed. You may open the jail, I release the condemned after one year and ten months have passed.[106]

The apparent dialogue between the culprit and the deity led some epigraphists to conclude that it was an actual legal courtroom proceeding[107]

84, 95; *TAM*, 324), feet (*BWK*, 70, 89; *TAM*, 252), to backside (*BWK*, 75). In *TAM*, 323, the author drew two feet above the text. See CMRDM III. 18.

[106] Hasan Malay, "A New Confession-Inscription," 151–2 = *BWK*, 5. See Malay, "A New Confession-Inscription," 147–154, for his translation based on his reconstructive proposals. The occurrence of the word ἁμαρτία "sin" [three times in Paul's crucial dialogue with his converts (Gal 1:4; 2:15, 17; 3:22)] and in this inscription (five times) is striking. See Petzl's earlier discussion of the same inscription in Georg Petzl, "Sünde, Strafe, Wiedergutmachung (Zur Inscrift p. 151f., Nr. 5)," *EA* 12(1988): 155–66; Chaniotis, "Under the Watchful Eyes," 27–29.

[107] Petzl, *Beichtinschriften Westkleinasiens*, 10–11; Chaniotis agrees with Petzl.

while others view such a linguistic scenario as being metaphorical.[108] Either way, Theodoros was ordered by Zeus—impersonated by a priest[109]—to atone for his persistent violations of sexual abstinence and to be jailed.

We cannot rule out priestly assistance even if it is not specifically mentioned in the confession.[110] What is important is that the peoples of Lydia and Phrygia testify publically about their experiences of suffering and healing which they dedicate to their local deities.[111] Generally, the worshiper is instructed by a priest to erect a stele to appease the wrath of god(s) from which he/she incurred the illness.[112] Some confessions characterize deities as autocratic in their governance exercising a "direct control over man's affairs."[113] Texts use strong verbs to describe the exercise of their powers on culprits[114] often balanced with those emphasizing human responses.[115]

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[108] Ender Varinlioğlu, "Zeus Orkmaneites and the Expiatory Inscriptions," *EA* 1(1983): 75–86; Ricl, "Appeal to Divine Justice," 72. This debate concerns whether one is to read φυλακήν, "jail," literally or metaphorically. Ricl argues for the latter (Ricl, "GIG 4142," 72).

[109] Ender Varinlioğlu "Eine Gruppe von Sühneinschriften aus dem Museum von Uşak," *EA* 13(1989): 37–9; Ricl, "Appeal to Divine Justice," 72–3. Both scholars agree that the jail is symbolic blindness. However, Merkelbach, *Isis regina*, 178, 172–3; 178–80, has shown that the Isis priesthood ordination often engages in what he terms "heiliges Theater"—a hint of priestly impersonation of the deity. Priestly impersonations found among Senegalese Diola priests are discussed in the next chapter.

[110] Mitchell, *Anatolia*, 1:194–5; Chaniotis, "Under the Watchful Eyes," 22–3.

[111] Chaniotis, "Illness and Cures," 323–4. Chaniotis characterizes these texts as honest expressions "of the feelings and attitudes of simple people towards illness, cure, medicine and doctors" (325).

[112] Following Mitchell, Rostad concurs that the evidence for priestly involvement is lacking (*Anatolia* 1:194; Rostad, "Confession," 149) but rightly insists that the genre of these inscriptions presupposes that an expert was involved in the process.

[113] Mitchell, *Anatolia*, 1:195; Chaniotis, "Under the Watchful Eyes," 1–3.

[114] νεμεσάω "to be angry, to find fault with,…" (*BWK*, 3), ποιέω, "to do, perform,…" (*BWK*, 3, 69), κολάζω, "I punish,…" (*BWK*, 6, 35, 57, 62), κελεύω, "to commend, exhort,…" (*BWK*, 9, 47, 71), ἀποτελέω, "to achieve, to satisfy,…" (*BWK*, 37, 72), ἐκζητέω, "to search eagerly," (*BWK*, 35). See Rostad, "Confession," 158–9.

[115] ἐρωτάω, "to ask, inquire, request" (*BWK*, 17), δίδωμι, "to give" (*BWK*, 17, 60), ἀποδίδωμι, "to give away, to perform,…" (*BWK*, 17, 36, 71, 103), στηλλογραφέω, "to inscribe on a stele" (*BWK*, 19, 33, 37, 50, 58, 71), εὐχαριστέω, "to give thanks" (*BWK*, 19, 58), εὐλογέω, "to praise" (*BWK*, 20, 37, 54, 64, 68, 101), ἀνίστημι, "to set up, to raise,…" (*BWK*, 27, 76), ἀνατίθημι, "to set up, to erect,…" (*BWK*, 12, 45, 101, 105, 114), ἱλάσκομαι, "to propitiate, to reconcile, to appease" (*BWK*, 33, 68; *NewDocs* 3(1983): 6.24–26), μαρτυρέω, "to witness, to confirm, to agree,…" (*BWK*, 68).

Given the above discussion, it is clear that visitors come to the sanctuary for various reasons beyond their control—a fact that necessitates priestly assistance of some kind.

Priests and their Function

Most of the rural peoples of Asia minor who visited sanctuaries were in a desperate need to resolve a wide range of social issues,[116] and came especially for healing.[117] It is conceivable that the process of these visitations would necessitate that priests serve as ἄγγελοι, "messengers," investigators, hermeneuts, healers, administrators of oaths, and instructors ensuring "the necessary condition for a reconciliation with the god."[118] This priesthood is not homogenous throughout Asia Minor due to the influence of Graeco-Roman colonial/imperial incursions into the area which left the Western parts of Anatolia Hellenized and the inlands indigenous.[119] Pierre deBord observes:

> …lorsque nous parlons d'un clergé 'grec' et d'un clergé 'indigène', il ne s'agit nullement de les distinguer par des critères ethniques mais seulement par des données d'ordre culturel. De plus, nous remarquerons que les régions où les traditions anciennes, sinon indigènes, résistent le mieux

[116] Just to list a few, Anatolians inquire about causes of the death of a loved one, personal suffering from illness, and stolen property (including farm animals). For details on these various needs, see Mitchell, *Anatolia*, 1:187–97; Chaniotis, "Under the Watchful Eyes," 22; idem, "Illness and Cures," 330. Rural Lydians and Phrygians believe that the gods would punish wrongdoers with illness and cure those who would confess. See Dio, *Or.* 10 where Chrysostom's Diogenes probes a worshiper bound to Apollo's Delphic sanctuary to investigate the whereabouts of his runaway slave.

[117] Pierre deBord, *Aspets Sociaux et économiques de la vie religieuse dans l'anatolie greco-romaine* (EPRO, 48; Leiden: Brill, 1982), 27.

[118] Chaniotis, "Under the Watchful Eyes," 37, 30–38, 43. The case of Aristodemos, priest of Zeus Pigindenos and Leon of Stratonikeia, priest of Zeus at Panamara, discussed by Chaniotis, quoting *SEG*, XLV. 1515, *SEG*, XLV.1557.4–8 clearly highlights the importance of priestly mediation between the gods and humans. These priests are models in contrast to Theodoros (see *BWK*, 5; Malay, "New Confession-Inscription," 151–2). Some scholars argue priestly mediation between the worshiper and the gods is not central to the process because "any individual could make an offering or conduct a sacrifice at an altar if he saw fit to do so; the confession inscriptions never mention any intermediaries between the god and the offender; although the Lydian reliefs depict figures who had a part to play in regulating the ritual, as would be natural" (Mitchell, *Anatolia*, 1:194–5). In Diola communities, *guwasena* "those who perform rituals" or priests play a crucial role in the overall life of worshipers—a function I discuss later.

[119] deBord, *Aspets*, 51. Apollo's role as a deity who purifies and heals is not a unique Greek belief. Anatolians have long held the same convictions about their own deities—a fact supported by epigraphic testimonies discussed above (for details see deBord, *Aspets*, 27–52).

> à la poussée de l'hellénisme paraissent être aussi celles où le prêtre conserver le plus de privilèges à la fois politiques, sociaux, économiques…Il y a donc semble-t-il, deux pôles opposés diamétralement: un prêtre 'grec' que l'on peut assimiler à un magistrat de la cité et agissant au bénéfice de celle-ci; un prêtre 'indigène', maître absolu d'un domaine constituant principauté.[120]
>
> …when one speaks of Greek or indegionous clergy, one is not making just an ethnic distinction but also a cultural one. One also notices that the regions where ancient traditions, if not indigenous, best resist the inroads of Hellenism appeared also to be those where the priest has more political, sociological, as well as economic privileges…Thus, there appear to be two diametrically opposed poles: a Greek clergy can be compared to a magistrate of a city who acts for its benefit; an indigenous clergy, absolute master of a domain that constitutes a principality.

According to Strabo, the honorable status enjoyed by priests is second to that of the king and temples in which they served are socioreligious, economic[121] and "therapeutic"[122] centers—a reality evinced in some

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[120] deBord, *Aspets*, 52. My translation . See Price, *Rituals and Power*, 78–100.

[121] Strabo, *Geogr*, 12.2.3, 6b; 12.3.31–32. From Strabo's account, it is clear that the authority vested in the office of the priesthood and its wealth extends beyond rural to urban areas. He also offers insights into the making of the temple population. For instance, visiting the temple of Enyo, called "Ma" in Comana, Strabo saw many "divinely inspired people" (θεόφορος) and 6000 ἱεροδούλοι "temples-servants" residing in the temple. The land does not belong to the temple; the revenue belongs to the priest. The temples of Zeus at Venasa [3000 "temple-servants" (12.2.5)] and "Mên at Pharnaces, as it is called,—the village-city Ameria" (12.31–32) are also similar in hierarchical structure. Priests of the temple of the "Mother of the Gods…called Agadistis" at Pessinus also enjoyed its lucrative ἐμπόριον ("markets") (12.5.3). For detailed discussions of the priesthood and its wealth, see deBord, *Aspets*, 76–262. T. Robert S. Broughton, "New Evidence on Temple-Estates in Asia Minor", in *Studies in Roman Economic and Social History in Honor of Allan Chester Johnson* (ed. P. R. Coleman-Norton; Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1951), 245, refers to these temples as banks. Turcan, *The Cults*, 36, argues that "at the head of the priests or galli of Cybele were an 'Attis' and a 'Battakès'. The Attis presided as high priest, and the Battakès played the role of vice-president of the priestly community." This temple-state is said to have been a "theocratic principality" that was once a vassal of Attalus and later of "the Roman Republic, then of the emperor until 25 BC." The black stone, symbolizing the presence of the deity at this temple in Pessinus was given to Rome by Attalus. This act might have generated frustration on the part of the deity who now regards Rome rather than Pergamum as the new center of the gods.

[122] deBord, *Aspets*, 27–40. Anatolians visit temples to purify themselves from the polluting power of illnesses. In the same way a Greek would have consulted the Delphic oracle for purification, so would the rural Mysian, Lydians and Phrygians. In fact, "l'Anatolie a été un terrain particulièrement propice au développent de sanctuaires à vocation thérapeutique, sanctuaires qui certainement plus d'autres, étaient propres à déplacer les fidèles, parfois venus de fort loin" (39). This phenomenon has parallels among the Senegalese Diola priests before and during the French colonization—an

of the confession/expiation-inscriptions discussed above. The Roman judicial system prosecuted most of the offenses except perjury which is left to the gods to enforce.[123] This renders the Phrygian and Lydian (Anatolian) villagers' appeal to divine justice an indispensable socio-religious need[124] and the priesthood necessary to ensure and enforce obedience to the divine judicial system.[125] In sum, Paul's addressees were the Gauls/Galatians, the descendants of the ancient Celts/Gauls, who migrated into Asia Minor where some of them became urban and rural dwellers. Statues implicitly label and portray them as barbarians who by nature behave like beasts and vanquished savages who threaten civilization—a characterization countered by Trogus, who insists that they, too, were civilized founders who built cities rather than savage and fickle beasts. Once in Asia Minor, especially in central Anatolia and the regions of Lydia and Phrygia, the Gauls/Galatians assimilated some elements of the extant cultural symbiosis with a limited influence of Hellenization and later Romanization.

They came to believe that the gods whom they served governed and controlled their daily lives. They protected their graves with *defixiones*, prayed for the administration of divine justice and visited sanctuaries where, in some cases, priests would assist them with appropriate ways to offer a public confession and propitiate for their sins. In later chapters I argue that this concern for ritual purity and social justice parallels that found among the Diola of Senegal which, in turn, parallel Paul's message to the Galatians (Gal 2:11–14; 3:28).

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influential role in Diola society I discuss later. For details on socio-economic functions of the indigenous priesthood, see deBord, *Aspets*, 26, 11–40; 185–251. See also *BWK*, 43; *TAM* 5.1.238.

[123] C. *Iust.* 412 quoted by Chaniotis, "Under the Watchful Eyes," 42.

[124] Versnel, "Beyond Cursing," 68, insightfully states that Christians also resolved their differences with their communities instead of appealing to state officials. This is an appeal to divine justice in a traditional way which, in no way, suggests an aversion to the power of authorities (See Ricl, "Appeal to Divine Justice," 69–70; Mitchell, *Anatolia*, 1:97). Against the above conclusions, if the indigenous priesthood resisted Hellenism, as deBord states, then it is probable that villagers' appeal to divine justice can be viewed as a mistrust of authorities.

[125] *BWK*, 27.

CHAPTER THREE

SENEGALESE DIOLA IN CONTEXT

Who Were the Diola?

Much of what is known about the Diola people and the region they inhabit has come about through the works of a handful of European and American ethnographers and sociologists/anthropologists.[1] The erudite Senegalese scientist and anthropologist, Cheikh Anta Diop, traces the origin of all black Africans back to the region of the Upper Nile valley extending to the Great Lakes—a milieu he calls "the primitive cradle of all Black peoples today living dispersed at the various points of the continent."[2]

His works seek to recover linguistic ties that bind most ethnic groups populating Senegal and other African countries.[3] Although the origin of

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[1] Louis-Vincent Thomas, *Les Diola: Essai d'analyse fonctionnelle sur une population de Basse-Casamance* (Tome 1 & 2; Dakar, SN: Imprimerie Protat FrPres, Mâcon, 1959). His works remain the most detailed studies on the Diola of the Casamance. Other significant works include Girard's *Genèse*; Roche, *Histoire*; Peter Mark, *A Cultural, Economic and Religious History of the Base Casamance Since 1500* (Stuttgart: F. Steiner, 1985). Subsequent works offer insightful corrections to Thomas' pioneering contributions: Olga F. Linares, *Power, Prayer and Production: The Jola of Casamance Senegal* (CSSCA; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992) and Robert M. Baum, *Shrines of the Slave Trade: Diola Religion and Society in Precolonial Senegambia* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999). See also Ibrahima Thioub, "L' espace dans les travaux des historiens de 'L'Ecole de Dakar': entre héritage colonial et construction nationale," *Les Espaces de L'historien* (ed. Jean-Claude Waquet, Odile Goerg et Rebecca Rogers; Strasbourg: Presses Universitaires de Strasbourg, 2000), 101, on Casamance historiography, and Francois-George Barbier-Wiesser, ed., *Comprendre la Casamance: Chronique d' une intégration contrastée* (Paris: Editions Karthala, 1994).

[2] Cheikh Anta Diop, *Precolonial Black Africa: A Comparative Study of Political and Social Systems of Europe and Black Africa, from Antiquity to the Formation of Modern States* (trans. Harold Salemson; New York: Lawrence Hill Books, 1987), 215, 212–15; idem, *The African Origin of Civilization: Myth or Reality* (trans. Mercer Cook; New York: Lawrence Hill Books, 1974), 179–203.

[3] Idem, *Black African: The Economic and Cultural Basis for a Federated State* (trans. Harold Salemson; New York: Lawrence Hill Books, 1974), 9; idem, *Towards the African Renaissance: Essays in African Culture and Development 1946–1960* (trans. Egbuna P. Modum; London: Kamak House, 1996), 9, 27, 123. He uses Diola and Djola interchangeably without saying from whence came the actual Diola tribe and its subgroups. Diop challenges Africans to reclaim their common linguistic ties which substantiate their kinship,

Diola people is difficult to determine, clearly neither is it true that Diola people "did not exist as an ethnic group before the colonial period."[4]

There are three myths[5] about Diola origin. The first links the Diola ethnic to a trader:

> Un père de famille de la race des Diola actuels, vint s'installer dans le Buluf en qualité de trafiquent… En tout cas, la prospérité de ce nouveau pays l'enchanta; il s' y installa définitivement et garda pour ses enfants le nom de Diola, déformation de Dioula. Ses descendants fondèrent par la suite, les sous-groupes Diamat, Floup, Djougout et Bayot.[6]
>
> an ancestor of the actual Diola ethnicity, lived in the area of Buluf as trader… In any case, enchanted by the prosperity of this new country, he finally settled there and kept the name Diola for his children, a distortion of Dioula. His descendants henceforth founded the subgroups of Diamat, Floup, Djougout, and Bayot.

The second myth stresses a Diola kinship with the Serer by way of twin sisters said to have left the kingdom of Kabu by canoe traveling towards the estuary of the Gambian River.[7] During the trip, their

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suggesting that African unity can be achieved if Africans were to speak one language. This, of course, is the case in Senegal where most tribes speak *Valaf*/Wolof.

[4] Peter Mark, *The Wild Bull and the Sacred Forest: Form, Meaning and Change in Senegambian Initiation Mask*s (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 22. It is also insulting to assert that the Diola is whoever claims to be one. To reduce Diola identity to a mere personal preference would likewise be untrue (Mark, *Wild Bull*, 16–17). I am not denying the fact that identity is a process but it is one that does not dissolve the person into something else.

[5] I call them myths instead of theories because, as a Diola by maternal lineage, I consider Diola mythology to be crucial. The Diola reconstruct their history through mythological accounts.

[6] Thomas, *Les Diola*, 2.489–90. This theory cannot be rejected based on the Diola disdain for trading jobs as Thomas maintains. Were Thomas' arguments based on linguistic grounds, they would have been more convincing. Lucie Gallistel Colvin, *Historical Dictionary of Senegal* (AHD 23; Metuchen, NJ: The Scarecrow Press, 1981), 216–7. The Mandinka (Malinke is a subgroup of traders) migrated from the empire of Mali to the Senegambian region between 1240 and 1260 A.D. There, they founded the empire of Kabu.

[7] Thomas, *Les Diola*, 2.490–1. Apparently, there are two versions to this story. The first, with a slight variation, has the twin sisters ("*Agẹn*" and "*Dyāmbon*") sent away by the king to find mates. Whereas Agẹn traveled southward and became the mother of the Diola, her twin sister, *Dyāmbon*, went north where she birthed the Serere people. Thomas dismisses these myths insisting that "les légendes que nous venons de citer n'existent que chez les Diola, et le Sérère ne parle jamais d'une tell parenté *de facto* ou *de jure*," "the legends we just cited exist only among the Diola, and the Serer never talk about such kinship in reality" (491n1). Against his refutation is his admittance of key shared beliefs between the Diola and Serer such as the belief in a transcendent God, communication with the deity, belief in the future, burial practices, fishing,

canoe splits in half forcing them to swim apart; one headed to the north shore and became the mother of the Serer while the other to the south (the Diola).

The third myth traces the origin of the Diola of Floup back to the country of Guinea-Bissau. The compelling nature of this myth, Robert M. Baum argues, rests on key claims of common ancestry, "strong linguistic," religious and cultural ties.[8] Louis-Vincent Thomas denies the Diola's "histoire positive" (factual history) accusing them of using many conflated traditions, "without raising questions about their historical origins, which are folkloric and religious rather than historical."[9] Apparent dissimilarities in the above accounts reflect early group absorptions and the dynamic nature of oral tradition. This happened to the Baïnounk, the original dwellers of the lower-Casamance, who were somewhat absorbed by the Mandinka and the Diola.[10] In his reconstruction of the Diola-Esulalu, Baum argues that "the category Diola was created from the joining of several distinct groups, who migrated into the area from the south and east, before they conquered the Koojaen."[11]

In this book I limit myself to the socioreligious convictions shared by the Diola on the southwest shore of the Casamance River—the

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hunting, and raising cattle (Thomas, *Les Diola*, 2.489–91). Baum, *Shrines*, 72, raises a lack of linguistic connections between the Serer and the Diola along with the absence of such a story among the "Guellewar ruling clan of Sine and Saloum." Thomas and Baum, I believe, failed to take seriously the shared beliefs between Diola and Serer as far as their kinship is concerned. Interestingly, Thomas, Baum, and Mark ignored the contributions of Diop whose anthropological studies argue for a common African ancestry. This oversight is troubling.

[8] Of this view he writes: "the ancestors of the Diola came from the area South of the São Domingo River, an area presently occupied by Manjaco" (Baum, *Shrines*, 72). Baum highlighted only the last two myths of Diola origins.

[9] Thomas, *Les Diola*, 2.492. My translation. Against Thomas, just because Diola use myths and religious instead of scientific accounts to reconstruct their history does not mean they are false or fanciful (ibid., 2.493).

[10] Colvin, *Historical Dictionary*, 131–2. The Baïnounk empire was Kasa dating from the fifteenth to eighteenth centuries C.E. It was not until the seventeenth century that Mandinka and Diola began to infiltrate the kingdom. The Mandinka, from the empire of Mali, began their migration to the Senegambian region from the thirteenth to much of the sixteenth centuries. Whereas most of them settled on the shores of the Gambian River, the Malinké (a subgroup of the Mandinka) who settled in the north developed dynasties (Sine and Saloum) and those in the south formed the loose kingdom of Kabu. The largest concentration of Malinké is in the eastern part of the Casamance region (Colvin, *Historical Dictionary*, 216–17). See also Baum, *Shrines*, 63.

[11] Baum, *Shrines*, 63, 254. The Koojaen are Baïnounk. For a detailed study of Diola origins, see Thomas, *Les Diola*, volumes 1 and 2, Girard's *Genèse* and Roche's *Histoire*. Of these studies, those of Roche and Baum remain the most helpful for understanding and assessing the overall Diola socioreligious world.

Brin-Séléki and the Essulalu townships.[12] I do so because of the centrality of their belief in the role and function of *Ata* or *Ala Emit—the One who owns heaven or Owner of heaven* in their Diola communities and their common colonial experiences. The many subgroups that constitute the Diola ethnic reflect more geographical differences than ethnic ones. Among these subgroups are the Diola of Bliss-Karons and Fonyi who dwell on the northern shore of the Casamance river and those of Oussouye (Floup), Youtou/Effoc (Diamat), Diembering (Dyiwat), Kabrousse (Her/Haer), Kagnout/Mlomp (Pointe Saint-Georges), and of Brin-Seleki.[13]

The Diola of Casamance, as an ethnic group, precedes the French colonial advent. When French colonists arrived in the area, the Diola and the inhabitants of Guinée-Bissau were already under Portuguese rule.[14] Diola people, in particular, were known to have resisted hierarchical or any foreign governance for the sake of their freedom.

> Le Diola a un sentiment très vif de sa liberté et c'est pour elle que, dans l' histoire, il a combattu contre l' autorité étrangère, aussi bien celle des Manding ses voisins que celle de l' Européen; liberté qui, il est vrai, était souvent synonyme anarchie sur le plan social…De nos jours encore, il reste prêt à se calibrer instinctivement devant toute discipline étrangère à son clan ou à ses coutumes…[15]

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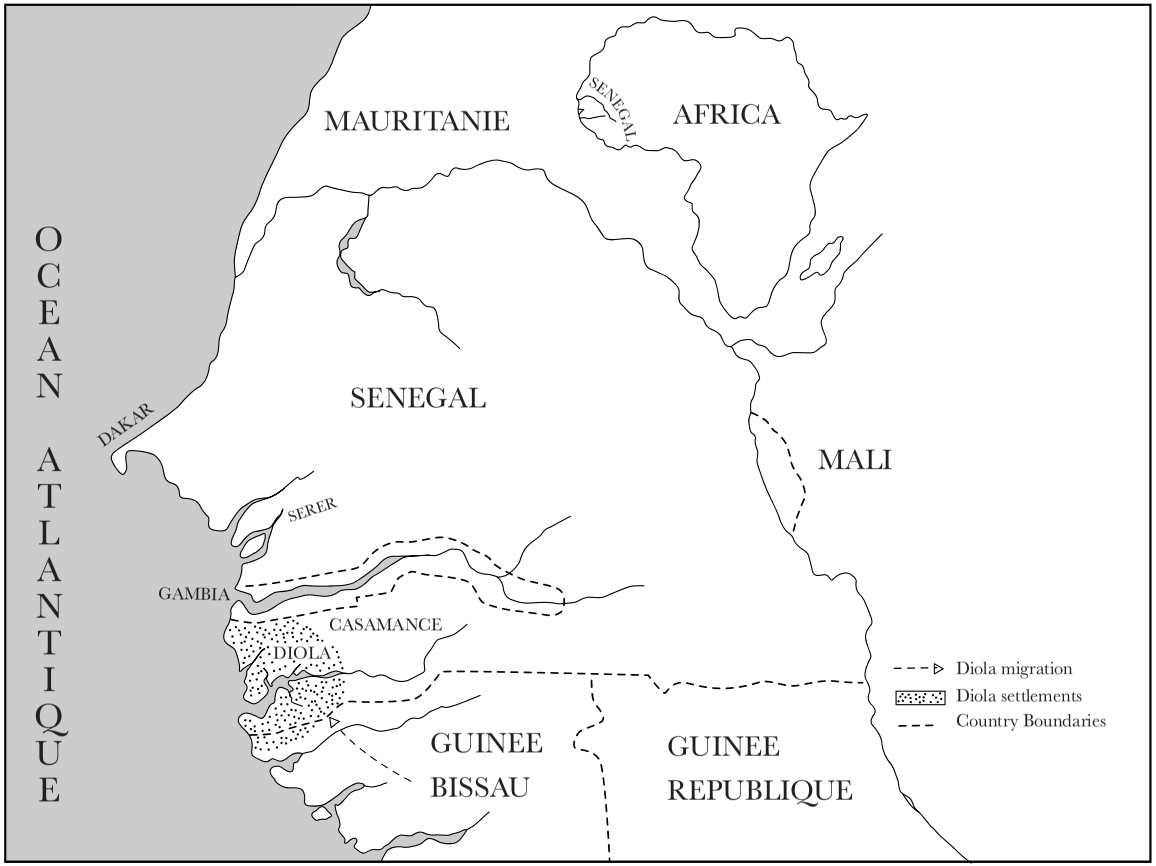
[12] As mentioned above, there are many Diola subgroups. Whereas some of the subgroups share linguistic affinities, others can be considered languages. Of linguistic differences, Mark, *Wild Bull*, 2–3, notes that "the two main dialects, those of Kasa and Fony, are mutually comprehensible, although with great difficulty for a non-native speaker. Other dialects, including those spoken in the Karones and in the community of Thionk-Essyl in Buluf, are not comprehensible to a Fogny-speaker; they constitute virtually separate languages." I would argue that the Diola of Brin-Séléki and Oussouye do share some linguistic similarities with those of Fogny. Against Mark, the Fogny and Kasa are not mutually comprehensible. Resulting linguistic differences are either contextual or etymological. For instance, what a Diola of Kasa means by *boudial* or *boudialabou* (forest/woods) would have been incomprehensible to a Diola Fogny whose words for forest/wood are *karamba* or *karanbakou*. Words such as *boudial* or *boudialabou* are etymologically different from *karamba* or *karanbakou*.

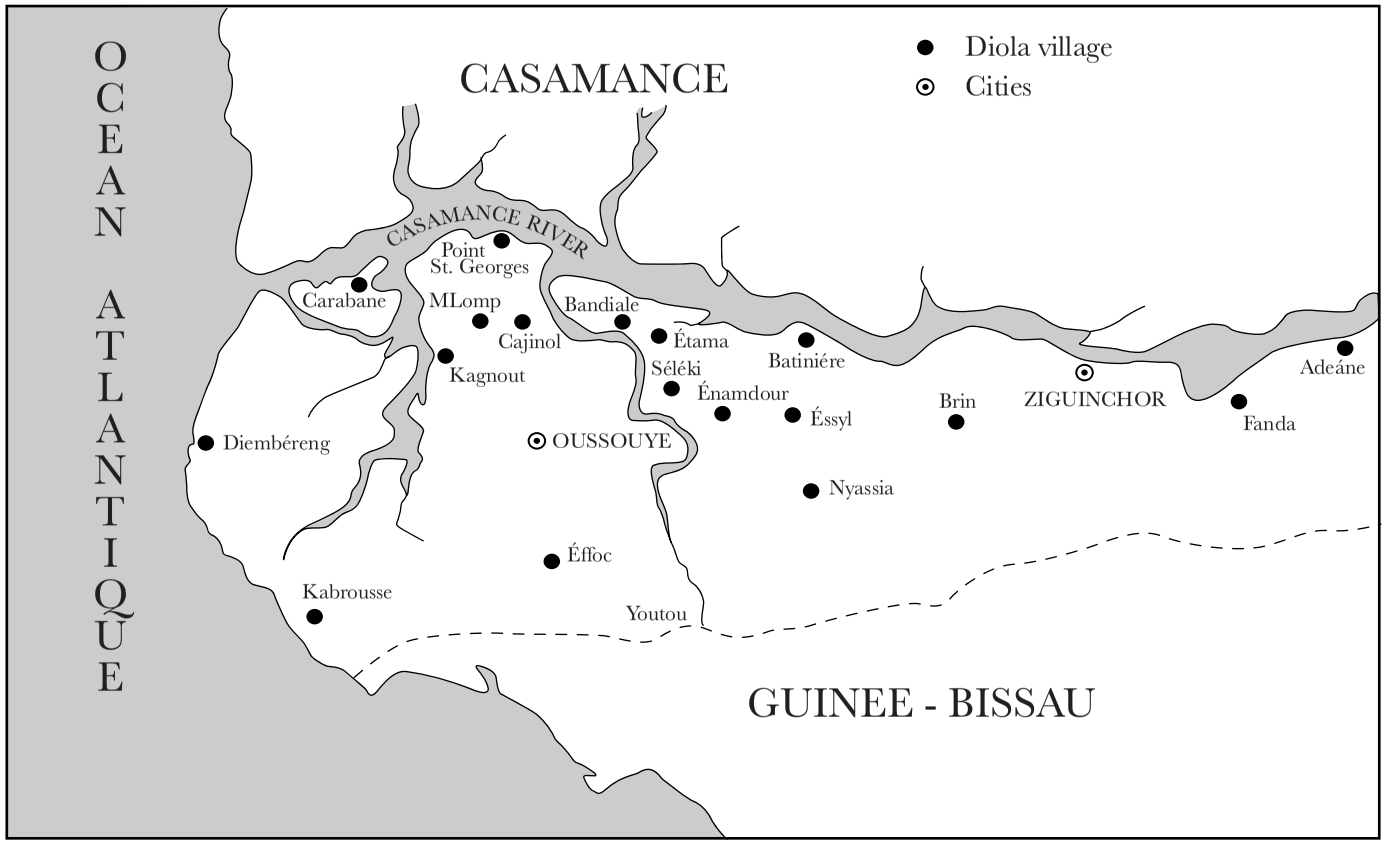
[13] Nazaire Ukëyëng Diatta, *Le Taureau symbole de Mort et de Vie dans l'initiation de la circoncision chez les Diola (Sénégal)*, (Mémoire pour l' obtention du Diplôme de l' École des Hautes-Études en Sciences Sociales, Mai 1979), 4.

[14] Michael C. Lambert, "Violence and the War of Words: Ethnicity v. Nationalism in the Casamance," *Africa* 68/4(1998): 588.

[15] Thomas, *Les Diola*, 2.539, 539–541. Thomas does not think much of the Diola concern for liberty and denies them a real sense of freedom. See also Lambert, "Violence," 593–4.



Map 3. Diola villages and cities on the south bank of the Casamance River (not all Diola villages are represented in this map). The focus of this illustrative map is to show key villages that include the Brin-Séléki, Oussouye and Essulalu (Mlomp, Cajinol and Kagnout) settlements. I have many relatives living in most of these villages and cities.



Map 2. Geographical location of Senegal in the African Continent, Diola migration and settlements in the north and south banks of the Casamance River. Senegalese people call this territory *le Pays Diola* "Diola country." The Casamance River irrigates Diola rice fields and is the fishery for the Diola.

> [The Diola have a lively feeling about their freedom and that is the reason why, throughout history, they have waged war against foreign authorities, as well as the neighboring Mandinkas, and of course again the colonizing Europeans. It is a freedom that, it is true, was often synonymous with anarchy in the social context…Still, to this day, they are ready to take on, instinctively, any foreign attempt to impose order on their clan or customs.]

They fiercely opposed colonizing Mandinka kingdoms around A.D. 1200 and waged a protracted war against the Bainounk kingdom known as the "war of seven hundred years" which ultimately led to the absorption of most of the Bainounk people.[16]

Africans as Barbarians and Savages

The previous chapter established that classical Greek and Hellenistic binarism not only divided the world into Greeks and Barbarians, but also considers Greeks as civilized and the rest of humanity as uncivilized. This binarism is evident in Platonic self-understanding[17] as well as in the Attalid Frieze.[18] As a dominant power in Europe, Rome had to face these Greek configurations of humanity in order to redefine itself from being part of the barbarian world to being "honorary Greek."[19]

Centuries later, emerging from Roman humiliation epitomized in the heroic surrender of Vercingetorix,[20] the French would see themselves

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[16] Sennen Andriamirado, "La guerre de sept cents ans," *JA* 29/1687(April/May 1993): 26–30; Lambert, "Violence," 583. Peter Mark, *Wild Bull*, 16, 22, appears to be completely unaware of precolonial Diola identity.

[17] Plato is emphasizing racial/ethnic purity here. R. G. Bury translates διὰ τὸ εἰλικρινῶς εἶναι Ἕλληνες καὶ ἀμιγεῖς βαρβάρων,… "because we are pure-blooded Greeks, unadulterated by barbarian stock" (Plato, *Menex.* 245d; [trans. Bury LCL]). Plato is not using a geographical way of distinguishing Greeks from non-Greeks. His is a taxonomy separating humanity into different kinds of races. Greeks, as far as he is concerned, are superior to barbarians ethnically and intellectually (Plato, *Epin.* 987d). See also Malkin, "Postcolonial Concepts," 342.

[18] Pollitt, *Art*, 81; Ferris, *Enemies*, 6–13.

[19] Champion, "Romans as Barbaroi," 425–444. The question is how can a people once viewed as barbarian become Greek in the eyes of Greeks? Greek writers tried to explain to their audience that this is possible because "Greekness has no ethnic limit" (Balch, "ΜΕΤΑΒΟΛΗ ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΩΝ," 150. See also Preston, "Roman Questions," 86–119).

[20] Dietler, "'Our Ancestors the Gauls,'" 584–605; idem, "A Tale of Three Sites: The Monumentalization of Celtic Oppida and the Politics of Collective Memory and Identity," *WA* 30/1(1998): 72–89. To some extent, Alesia became a shrine of national identity to France.

as mythological giants with an ambitious ideology to shape the world in their own image.[21]

Africans were among the peoples the French had in mind. Unfortunately, their knowledge of traditional Africa was based on inaccurate reports from travelers, among whom were Catholic missionaries.[22] Some of them wrote for a European audience presenting a picture of Africa and its inhabitants that would not only legitimate the slave trade, but also the subsequent colonization. Many historians place Europeans' racism toward Africans as occurring from right before the eighteenth to the beginning of the nineteenth centuries and being a result of the slave trade.[23]

Georg W. F. Hegel derogatorily describes sub-Saharan Africans to his European audience as a fossilized specimen waiting to be unearthed by Europe. He thinks "Africa proper, as far as History goes back, has remained for all purposes of connection with the rest of the world shut up; it is the Gold-land of childhood, which lying beyond the day of self-conscious history, is enveloped in the dark mantle of Night."[24] He further describes peoples living in and around Senegal as "hordes" and thinks their behavior reflected "the most reckless inhumanity and disgusting barbarism—and afterwards, when their rage was spent, in the calm time of peace, they showed themselves mild and well disposed

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[21] Morton, "National and Colonial," 357–77; especially, 362–3, 368–9. Williams, *Beyond the Rubicon*, 8, asserts that in contemporary parlance the Celts are considered the "founding fathers of Europe"—a common ancestry. "The Celts, as opposed to the Gauls who are too closely identified with France and the French, offer an all purpose identity in which individuals and communities from many different parts of modern Europe can take part and which they can regard as their own as part of their 'heritage'" (Williams, *Beyond the Rubicon*, 9). On Alesia, see also Cunliffe, *Greeks, Romans and Barbarians*, 112–13.

[22] Mark, *Africans in European Eyes*, discusses how Europeans learned about Africans from various sources, most of which were ill informed about Africa and Africans. Crucial early encounters with black people show that some Europeans respected blacks while others express prejudices against them. Skin pigmentation was however an obvious feature of early Renaissance paintings. Greek contacts with Africa are also documented by Frank M. Snowden, *Before Color Prejudice: The Ancient View of Blacks* (Cambridge, MA; Harvard University Press, 1983); Marin Bernal, *Black Athena: The Afroasiatic Roots of Classical Civilization: The Fabrication of Ancient Greece 1785–1985* (vol. 1; New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1987).

[23] Philip Curtin, *The Image of Africa: British Ideas and Actions 1780–1850* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1964); Mark, *Africans in European Eyes*, iii.

[24] Georg W. F. Hegel, *Philosophy of History* (trans. J. Sibree; New York: Prometheus Books, 1991), 92.

towards the Europeans, when they became acquainted with them."[25] Charles de Secondat Baron de Montesquieu similarly reduces Africans living on the Atlantic shore to the status of "savages and barbarians."[26] That negative depictions of Africans are based on travelers', explorers', and missionaries' accounts is also well documented.[27]

In his reconstruction of European self-understanding and depictions of Africans, T. Carlos Jacques sees an epistemological process in which classical typologies that reduced Africans to savage barbarians are re-framed into a yet more dehumanizing label: Primitive. He posits that the

> concept "primitive" is a category of thought that is born of an epistemological shift at the end of the eighteenth century. This shift was not the result of any superior knowledge that Europe suddenly acquired of "Others." It was rather the product of a new way in which Europe understood itself, a self-understanding that was manifested in many different ways. The philosophical systems of the nineteenth century integrated the "primitive" into grand historical narratives, with Africa always as the paradigm of human infancy. New sciences were born on the back of this notion. And in new guises (such as "traditionalism," "third worldism," "Afrocentrism"), it has made its presence felt in African national and postcolonial thought and practice as well.[28]

Although Jacques' point is well taken, European negative typologies applied to Africans were mixed and did not follow a particular structure as Jacques argues.[29] The function of European negative typologies was

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[25] Hegel, *Philosophy*, 93, 91–93. Interestingly, Hegel cites missionary accounts to bolster his descriptions of Africans.

[26] Charles de Secondat Baron de Montesquieu, *The Spirit of Laws* (trans. Hon. Frederic R. Couldert; New York: The Colonial Press, 1899), 21.2. This mindset contrived the universe into a king's cabinet, as Louis-Sebastien Mercier indicates.

[27] Curtin, *Image of Africa*, v–ix, 11– 27, notes how these reports led to the construction of "separate species of man." John S. Mbiti, *African Religions and Philosophy* (2nd ed.; Chicago, IL: Heinemann, 1969), 8–12. Mbiti rightly complains about distorted accounts of African cultures and religions.

[28] T. Carlos Jacques, "From Savages and Barbarians to Primitives: Africa, Social Typologies, and History in the Eighteenth-Century French Philosophy," *HT* 36/2(May 1997): 215. I concur with Jacques in his tracing of the French view of black Africans to Jean-Jacques Rousseau and the Cartesian epistemological conclusions. However, against Jacques, the French did not cease to describe blacks as barbarians, savages, or primitives. These typologies are interchangeably applied to the Senegalese people to this day.

[29] Baum, *Shrines*, 9, agreeably states that Europeans "saw themselves as bringing Africa into history and into the light of religious faith. To reinforce this sense of otherness, Africa was labeled as pagan, animist, fetishist, polytheist, primitive, or oral…All

to set off Africans from Europeans as racially/ethnically and intellectually inferior people so that the theory of blacks' inferiority to whites was readily accepted by authorities of nations engaged in the trade of "le bois d' ébène" ("the ebony wood" is a euphemism for black people).[30]

A colonial administrator articulated this reality saying,

> en 1685, Louis XIV promulgua le "Code Noir" que Colbert avait rédigé avant de mourir, et qui réglementait tout ce qui concernait la vie des esclaves: nourriture, travail, pénitences. Ceux-ci étaient encore qualifiés par ce code de 'meuble et de "bétail humain."[31]
>
> in 1685, Louis XIV published the "black Code" that Colbert wrote before his death, that regulated everything that pertained to the lives of the slaves: from food, work, to kinds of punishment. They were qualified by this code as furniture and "human cattle."

Europeans' self-definition and reduction of Africans to objects or moveable property legitimated not only the slave trade, but also the subsequent colonization of most of the continent. How do these typologies reflect actual French encounters with Diola people?

As Paul Lesourd insists, when France decided to colonize, she became a missionary nation whose missionaries served as evangelists, mediators between the metropolis and colonies, scientists, explorers, linguists, ethnographers, historians, archaeologists, and naturalists.[32] They presented themselves as propagators of western civilization and Christianity

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these labels proclaim the absolute difference between European and African: The former possessed a dynamic culture and a long history, while the latter was frozen in primordial time."

[30] Beslier, *Le Sénégal*, 123. See page 78 where blacks are universally viewed as being drunks marked by debauchery. The expression "ebony wood" is a euphemism for "black people." Froelicher, *Trois Colonisateurs*, 128–9. In Froelicher's account, one finds Faidherbe painting blacks as savages "qui manquant de caractère c'est à dire de force de volonté, de prévoyance et de persévérance, sera toujours à la merci des races mieux douées que lui sous ce rapport." "Who lack character, namely force of will, foresight and perseverance, will always be at the mercy of races better endowed than they in this."

[31] Beslier, *Le Sénégal*, 68, shamelessly states that "la pratique de l'esclavage coexista en antinomie avec la brillante civilisation de la seconde moitié du XVII^{e} siècle… La thèse de l' infériorité de la race noire s' était accréditée facilement auprès des chefs des nations exploitant 'le bois d' ébène' ". "The practice of slavery coexisted as an antinomy with the brilliant civilization of the second half of the seventeenth century… the thesis of the inferiority of the black race was easily sanctioned by leaders of nations exploiting the ebony wood." Louis Sala-Molins, *Le Code Noir ou le calvaire de canaan* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2002). See also, Jacques, "From Savages," 198.

[32] Paul Lesourd, *L' Oeuvre Civilisatrice et Scientifiques des missionnaires Catholiques dans les colonies Françaises* (Paris: Sous le patronage du commissariat général de l' exposition coloniale internationale de Paris, 1931), 11. This idea of colonization is intimated by

to the uncivilized heathens. Those without history, civilization, religion, and intellectual acumen would be introduced to civilization—the apex of western civilization, Michelet claims.[33] The rationale of French historians and ethnographers was that Africa is a rich and unexploited land because Africans were plagued with ignorance; in fact, "superstition, debauchery and indolence are their shared vices."[34]

Barbarians and Savages: Diola People Through French Eyes

French colonists did not hesitate to describe Senegalese people as superstitious, *ivrognes*, "drunks" and savages.[35] Les Pères du Saint Esprit, "the Holy Ghost Fathers," who came to Senegal with the first French colonial administrators, confused their Eurocentric version of Christianity for a tool with which to civilize Diola barbarians. Diola religion was labeled a satanic path and its *ouwasena* or *kouwasena* "priests, priest-kings" as savages.[36]

Labeling blacks as being by nature a bibulous and unpredictable people marked by an uncontrollable anger or passions[37] parallels Polybius' characterization of the Gauls/Galatians.[38] Christian Roche reflects this sentiment insisting that

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Péter, *L' Effort Français*, 1, who vehemently defends French colonialism as positive. See also Froelicher, *Trois Colonisateurs*, 5–15, who conveys similar ideas.

[33] Michelet, *Autobiographie*, 220–234.

[34] Jacques, "From Savages," 200.

[35] Beslier, *Le Sénégal*, 77, notes the unchanging characterizations of blacks living on the coast of West Africa for three centuries. "Blacks are by nature cheerful and quarrelsome. They have a sparkling wit but do not consider theft and lasciviousness a crime. They are lazy and spend most of their lives in idleness without remorse…drunk and debauched blacks care only about themselves." My translation. Robert Baum, "Crimes of the Dream World: French Trials of Diola Witches in Colonial Senegal," *IJAHS* 37/2(2004): 201–228. The French believed that the Diola were cannibals who ate the human soul. Beslier, *Le Sénégal*, 66. Mark, *Fetishers*, 91.

[36] Baum, "Emergence," 386. According to Baum, these labels developed as a result of a conflict between elders and the Holy Ghost Fathers over the resistance of Diola elders to the message the Fathers were inculcating into the minds of their children, especially catechumens. Elders, especially the *Awasena*, responded by accusing Holy Ghost Fathers of "poisoning their children's ears"—a countervoice that recalls the Athenean charge against Socrates. *Ouwasena* and *kouwasena* are the plural form of the singular *awasena*. Meanings of the word *awasena* range from "the one who performs rituals, priest or priest-king."

[37] Roche, *Histoire*, 34–5.

[38] Polybius, *Hist*. 35.3, uses negatively the word θυμός, "passion," to depict the behavior of the Gauls/Galatians—a term expressive of τὰ ἔργα τῆς σαρκός, "the works of the law," in Gal 5:19–20, Rom 2:8 and Eph 4:31. Paul's use of the term has nothing to do with race/ethnicity. If Bultmann, *Theology*, 232–249, is right then the term σάρξ, "flesh," should be understood differently in Polybius' language of θυμός.

> disputes over the ownership of some rice fields would readily provoke bloody brawls. These feuds were transmitted from father to son and thus were never completely resolved. All it takes is an excess of palm wine to revive old grievances.[39]

For Thomas, Diola people were unable to accept hierarchical governance due to a natural flaw he calls "mentalité."[40] Politically, Roche quips,

> les Joola avaient par conséquent une société originale qui associait la liberté et le désire farouche d' indépendance aux vertus traditionnelles de la solidarité africaine. Hostiles à toute autorité extérieure, ils opposèrent une vive résistance active ou passive aux tentatives de domination étrangère.[41]
>
> Diola people consequentially had an original society that associated freedom and the fierce desire for liberty with the traditional virtues of African solidarity. Hostile to any foreign authority, they would mount a lively resistance—active or passive—to any attempt at foreign domination.

The Diola would team up against a common enemy to preserve their freedom. In spite of the fact that they are "courageous and brave in battle, Diola people often suffer defeats due to their lack of unity before a common enemy."[42] Curiously, northern Senegalese people also regard Diola people as savages in desperate need for civilization.[43] Ousmane Sembène captures this feeling when fictional characters, in his book, grapple over their identity crises wrought by the French policy of assimilation once exercised in the so-called four *communes*:

In fact, the Hebrew equivalent belongs to a broad semantic field [see Hans Walter Woolf, *Anthropology of the Old Testament* (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press, 1974), 26–31, on בָּשָׂר.

[39] Roche, *Histoire*, 34–5. My translation.

[40] Louis-Vincent Thomas, "La mentalité du Diola (de l' anthropologie culturelle à l' ethno-psychologie)," *Revue de Psychologie des peuples* 14/3(1959): 253–272. Both Roche and Thomas miss an important fact in Diola life. Diola people understood that only *Ala/Ata Emit*, "God," can provide true freedom. They saw foreign notions of freedom as intrusive and inadequate. This is why they could team up and fight a common enemy, and when the threat is removed, they resume their autonomous lifestyles under the aegis of *Ala/Ata Emit*. There is nothing awkward about this practice.

[41] Roche, *Histoire*, 36; Thomas, *Les Diola*, 2.539.

[42] Roche, *Histoire*, 35. My translation. Polybius and Caesar made similar remarks about the Gauls/Galatians. Polybius blames their lack of unity and defeats in battle on their fickle character. Caesar must have been influenced by Polybius' account.

[43] Jean-Claude Marut, "Le Mythe: penser la Casamance," in *Comprendre la Casamance: Chronique d' une intégration contrastée* (Paris: Editions Karthala, 1994), 21–5. Since 1983, the region has been embroiled in war that claimed the life of my step-father, caused serious injury to my cousin, and displaced my mother, brothers, and sisters.

> Look at the inhabitants of the towns, Saint-Louis, Dakar, Rufisque, Gorée …Because of their long period of contact with Europeans, they thought themselves more civilized than other bush Africans living in the forest or savanna. The arrogance grew when they alone were given the vote and considered French citizens. People from these four *communes*, and their descendants, were proud of being the equals of Europeans. They began to parody them, and acquired a pretentious mentality…How many times have we heard a man from Dakar, Gorée, Rufisque or Ndar (Saint Louis) say contemptuously to his country cousin: "I was civilized before you were." These alienated, rootless people, enslaved from within—of whom I was and still am one—were unconsciously the most faithful and devoted servants of the then prevailing system of occupation…[44]

It could be that this identity disarray is what the Diola resist in an effort not to be labeled savages.

The Inescapable Presence of Ala *or* Ata Emit: *The Socioreligious Dimensions of Diola Communal Life*

The Diola Socioreligious Setting

Some ethnographers date the rise of negative attitudes of Europeans toward Africans to the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries and the rise of slavery.[45] It is clear however that European binarism dates back to the classical period.[46] Most Europeans kept on propagating a faulty and misguided picture of Africans based on sociological and ethnographical conclusions. Nowhere is this distortion of reality more poignant than in the disturbing conclusions reached by foreign commentators on Diola history and socioreligious thought. Like that of most Africans, the Diola symbolic world is event

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[44] Ousmane Sembène, *The Last of the Empire: A Senegalese Novel* (trans. Adrian Adams; London: Heinemann, 1981), 134–5. I will develop this thought further in the concluding chapter. See also Niang, "Postcolonial," 324.

[45] Mark, *Africans in European Eyes*, iii. For Mark, the European negative view of Africans dates back to the time "Europeans established sustained contact with Black Africa, began explorations of the West African coast, and laid the foundation for the trans-Atlantic slave trade." This conclusion ignores the ethnocentrism of Aristotle, Plato, and Polybius.

[46] Aristotle, *Pol.* XXI.1.1.9. Malkin, "Postcolonial Concepts," 345, thinks tracing European binarism back to the classical colonial period would be overstating things since Greeks did use the term barbarian mostly to "differentiate themselves from non-Greek peoples, from the nomadic Scythians to the long-settled Egyptians." He concedes, however, that the word barbarian was used negatively in antiquity.

oriented and history is told and transmitted through inter-generational living events.

Of all the works consulted on Diola people, only Baum rightly recognizes that "*oral traditions are concerned with identifying historical events that are roughly contemporaneous and with establishing sequence of events*."[47] Historical events such as the creation of a shrine, *Kahat*, and especially *Bukut*, constitute the tapestry from which the Diola established a sense of chronology and socioreligious structure.[48] Remembered and interpreted inter-generational events are dynamic ways Diola people construct their symbolic universe through which self-understanding is reached, identity shaped, and reality grasped.

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[47] Baum, *Shrines*, 185. I agree with Baum that reconstructions of Diola origins should be more attentive to relative chronology implemented with other sources of information rather than absolute chronology. Emphases are mine. Whether one should follow absolute or relative chronology is open to debate. See a helpful discussion in David Henige, *Oral Historiography* (New York: Longman, 1982); idem, *The Chronology of Oral Tradition: Quest for a Chimera* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974). Jan Vansina, *Oral Tradition* (Hammondsworth: Penguin, 1973), 1, writes: Oral traditions are historical sources of a special genre . . . and I hope to show that oral tradition is not necessarily untrustworthy as a historical source, but on the contrary, merits a certain amount of credence within certain limits." See also idem, "Ethnohistory in Africa," *Ethnohistory* 9/2 (1962): 126–36; idem, "Comment: Traditions of Genesis," *JAH* 15/2 (1974): 317, is right that historians are now giving due attention to oral traditions once ignored and overlooked. These oral traditions tell of identities and origins. In spite of the importance of oral traditions, some scholars insist on the superiority of written traditions. Walter Ong, "Foreword," in *The Oral and the Written Gospel: The Hermeneutics of Speaking and Writing in the Synoptic Tradition, Mark, Paul, and Q* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1983/1997), xiv, opines "A Sophisticated oral hermeneutic opens the way to deeper understanding not merely of orality but of the texts themselves. Textuality shows clearly its own distinctive, rich and complex psychodynamics, when it is set against orality, with which writing always maintains some sort of reciprocal relationship." See also idem, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word* (New York: Routledge, 1982). It would be naïve however to think written traditions are void of inaccuracies and distortions. There is not such a thing as a disinterested writer.

[48] According to Roche, *Histoire*, 38–42, *Kahat* ensured the independence and security of Diola society. It was an exclusively male ritual during which Diola warriors inspired communal confidence and cohesiveness. The *Bukut* replaced *Kahat* in order to restore the loss of cultural identity wrought by the French colonial advent. Girard associates the rise of *Bukut* with a deep concern for collective survival [Girard, *Genèse*, 91; idem, "De la Communauté traditionnelle à la collectivité modern en Casamance," *Annales Africaines* (Paris: Editions Pedone, 1963), 144–150]. *Bukut* therefore seeks to reclaim the freedom Diola communities enjoyed before foreign intrusions. A helpful discussion on another function of *Bukut* in the making of Diola oral historiography is found in Baum's *Shrines*, 186–189. *Bukut* plays a major role in Diola society. Males, ages three to twenty-three, circumcised the same day, are of the same generation. This is the way Diola people keep track of time, seniority and the initiation of new religious sanctuaries (see also Mark, *Wild Bull*, 38).

The Inescapable Presence of Ata, Ala Emit, *and* Emitai

Central to Diola life is the presence of *Ata* or *Ala Emit*. *Emit* or *Emitai* means heaven—the source of rain. *Emit, Emitai* ("sky"), *Ata* or *Ala Emit*, "The One Who Owns Heaven or the Owner of heaven," is the supreme God.[49] This supreme being governs human affairs. Thomas denies this central Diola belief, insisting that the "God of the Diola, like all the African gods, remains after all,…*deus incertus et deus remotus*, always surrounded by a halo of vagueness."[50] Peter Mark agrees that the Diola believe in a supreme deity but then argues that *Emitai* is "a remote being, and even today, when Emitai is frequently identified with a personalized God resembling the supreme being of Christian belief, prayers are offered through the intermediaries of the *sínáátí*."[51] Robin Horton also reduces African religious devotion to a pantheon of

[49] God is variably referred to as *Ata, Ala Emit* or simply *Emitai.* One encounters these variations from one Diola sub-group to another. As Baum rightly notes, *Emitai* is the subject of strong verbs. *Emitai* rains, thunders, structures seasons, and heals (Baum, *Shrines*, 39). Diola people of Enampor and Séléki do not equate God with the sky or year as some commentators would like to believe.

[50] Thomas, *Les Diola*, 2.584, 587. My translation. The Diola understands *Emit or Emitai* "sky" as a dynamic natural phenomenon with significant implications for human life. The cyclical changes it reflects (namely changes from night to day, from dry to wet seasons) affect human livelihood in an agrarian society. Baum, *Shrines*, 38, relates this reality that for so long evaded scholars such as Thomas. What is strange is that Thomas is aware that the Diola believes in a "supreme," "indivisible," "non-representable," "immortal," "spiritual," "all powerful," "omniscient," and "omnipresent," being who "spoke the world into existence" but explained away these beliefs (Thomas, *Les Diola*, 2.588). On the remoteness of God in African religions, see also Louis-Vincent Thomas et René Luneau, *La terre africaine et ses religions: tradition et changements* (SHS; Paris: Libraire Larousse, 1975), 141–148.

[51] Mark, *Wild Bull*, 25. The word *sínáátí, sieeti, boukine* and *gaassine* variably means shrine. These variations reflect the many spellings one could encounter between one Diola sub-group and another. As stated above, Mark is aware that the "Jola conceive of the existence of a high god, whom they call Emitay. Emitay also means year, sky and rain. Emitay is associated with the sky, in its all-encompassing, transcendent vastness. Emitay is associated with the annual cycle of agriculture, as well as with the life-giving rain without which rice—and ultimately humans—cannot live. Emitay is basically *deus otiosus*." It is exaggerating to argue that this view of God was an adaptation of Christian monotheism as Mark does. Diola cosmology in which *Ata, Ala Emit or Emitai* is the supreme immanent and transcendent God predates Muslim and Christian infiltrations in Diola communities, especially among those located on the southern shore of the Casamance River (Baum, *Shrines*, 39). Neither Thomas' *deus incertus et deus remotus* or Mark's *deus otiosus* can be affirmed. This doctrine is nothing more than a sad European misunderstanding of African religions, especially Diola socioreligious convictions.

lesser spirits that he believes are immanently involved in the lives of the people at a microcosmic level, instead of a supreme deity.[52]

Contrary to the above assertions, the God of the Diola (*Ata* or *Ala Emit*) heals, enables humans to understand, establishes a moral order in Diola communities, sees everything, and provides for the community with rain and good harvest.[53] Diola elders often relate stories about *Emitai*'s communications with some of them through out-of-body experiences, and visions and dreams through which the deity "revealed moral teaching, instructions about new spirit shrines, and advice about community problems. Such revelations were seen as inspiring the introduction of Bukut, the male circumcision ritual, and Kasila, the rain shrine of Alinesitoué."[54]

Curses and Prayers: The Quest for Divine Justice in the Hank (Community)

The Diola believe *Ata*, *Ala Emit*, or *Emitai* is transcendent as well as immanent in their *kouhankahou*, "communities." This supreme God created the world through the divine word, "Verbe."[55] The created world includes humans, animals, spiritual beings, and spirit-shrines that affect

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[52] Robin Horton, "African Conversion," *Africa*, 41/2(1971): 101; idem, "On the Rationality of Conversion: Part I," *Africa* 45/3(1975): 219–220. These lesser spirits mediate the needs of community members to the supreme deity. This cosmology, Horton wrongly believes, is shared by all Africans. Unfortunately, Horton is not alone in propagating these reductionist perspectives on religion and cosmology.

[53] Baum, *Shrines*, 39–42. "People were accountable to Emitai for their deeds and were obligated to live in accordance with duties received from It. 'The burden that comes from Emitai is not heavy'" (Baum, *Shrines*, 39). Thomas refutes the fact that the Diola *Ata, Ala, Emit* or *Emitai* was far from being a loving or caring deity (*Les Diola*, 2:588–589).

[54] Baum, *Shrines*, 39. "Emitai's attempt to communicate with the Diola was Its bestowing of certain powers on individuals. These powers included the ability to 'see': to see spirits, witches, or far away events or to dream of events in the future, of spirits, or even of Emitai. "No one can teach you to 'see'…Emitai shows you 'eyes' or 'It does not.' People with special mental powers could become messengers of Emitai or elders at important spirit shrines."

[55] Thomas, *Les Diola*, 2.588. For an extensive discussion of the African understanding of the Word ("Verbe"), see Thomas et Luneau, *terre africaine*, 47–57; idem, *Les religion d' Afrique Noire: Textes et traditions sacrés* (Paris: Libraire Arthème Fayard, 1969), 5–15; Baum, *Shrines*, 39. This Diola cosmology parallels the first account of creation in Genesis וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים יְהִי אוֹר וַיְהִי־אוֹר, "God said, let there be light and there was light" (Gen 1:3). For the writer of Genesis 1, God's creative work [בָּרָא, "created /creates" (Gen 1:3; Isa 42:5–6)] is expressed through speech. Central to Israel's speech about God is בָּרָא—the verbal and semantic anchor that binds all other transformative verbs encapsulated in Israel's autobiographical rhetoric (Brueggemann, *Theology*, 145–212) and hermeneutics. See also, Senghor, "The Spirit of Civilisation," 58–62.

human life.[56] The spirit-shrines, wrongly labeled as "fetishes" by key western ethnographers,[57] are sanctuaries with various socioreligious functions. As agrarian peoples, the Diola relegate the distribution of goods and the implementation of divine justice to the sacred authority vested in the spirit-shrines/sanctuaries under the governance of *Ata, Ala Emit*. Baum posits:

> Almost every economic activity of the community had a boekine associated with it, be it palm wine tapping, fishing, blacksmithing, or farming. Other shrines were important for healing, either as diagnostic shrines or for treating specific disorders. Others were concerned with the perennial problems of rain, crop fertility, and the fertility of women. There were several shrines associated with war, the well-being of the community, and township governance. Finally, there were ukine associated with extended family and the lineage.[58]

The multivalency of spirit-shrines/sanctuaries is therefore a function of the various needs of Diola community members. A Diola would visit the sanctuary of a spirit-shrine, to pray for rain, purification, healing, divine retribution on perpetrators of some wrongdoings, to confess, or to thank *Emitai*.[59] In a prayer recorded by Thomas and René Laneau, a Diola

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[56] Baum, *Shrines*, 40–42. Thomas, *Les Diola*, 2.590–595, includes about one hundred sanctuaries from various Diola subgroups, including that of my mother's group (Brin-Séléki). Linares, *Power*, 23–27.

[57] Thomas, *Les Diola*, 2.584. The word fetish originated from Portuguese slave traders—a label they derogatorily applied to African religious expressions. Thomas finds both terms, fetish and animism, fitting characterizations of African religions in terms of their primitive nature and the inaccessibility of God in their worldview. See also Girard, *Genèse*, 19–20, who, similarly, justifies his use of the word fetish by appealing to what he considers to be a primitive nature of Diola religious practice. John S. Mbiti, *Introduction to African Religion* (2nd ed. Oxford: Heinemann Educational Publishers, 1975/1991), 18–19, rightly refutes these negative labels.

[58] Baum, *Shrines*, 43. According to Linares, some spirit shrines "are implicated in the regulation of land, labor and crops. In this role, they can answer prayers to bring rain and ensure abundant harvests for everyone" (Linares, *Power*, 24). In fact, "once a spirit-shrine is set up it should be taken care of regularly. Otherwise it can bring misfortune if it feels it is being ignored. A spirit-shrine may be brought into social prominence, may be neglected, transported to another area, duplicated *sure place*, or may even change form and function. The spirit-shrines can refuse to be reasoned with, cajoled, harnessed or pleaded to… their moods and behavior must be interpreted. This makes the authority of elders unavoidable and necessary" (Linares, *Power*, 25). For our purpose, this discussion is limited to the prayers, curses, and the quest for divine justice.

[59] Thomas, *Les Diola*, 2.683–685. He provided a detailed discussion of the various rites that may land a worshiper at the sanctuary of a spirit-shrine. I limit my discussion to those mentioned above due to the parallels I wish to draw between the Diola concept of divine justice and that of Gauls/Galatians discussed in my previous chapter. Baum has a more extensive and convincing approach to the various rites performed

worshiper thanks God this way: "To the One who owns heaven-You gave us rain-Thank you! May the guardian of rain be thanked!…"[60] A prayer by a Diola-Dyiwat encapsulates the fundamental conviction about Diola belief in the supreme governance of *Ata, Ala*, or *Emit*.

> To the One who owns heaven, Our Father, It is you who made us, As you made our ancestors, As you made the spirit-shrines, As you made everything that exists. We thank you. Give us Peace. Give us rain that would fertilize our rice fields, Give us many children, Who would honor you, And who would make us beautiful funerals. Give us the strength to cultivate. To the One who owns heaven, Our Father, You who, for us, have made the spirit shrines, That you would make them obey you. As we obey them. That our granaries be filled. That the wombs of our wives be fertile. That peace reigns among us. To the one who owns heaven, You are our Father, We thank you, We beseech you, for without you we would not exist. (My translation from the French.)[61]

As in the Graeco-Roman world, Diola people believe *Emit* watches over their communities and punishes wrongdoers. That being the case, they interpret human calamities, droughts, and illnesses as divine punishment on some wrongdoings. Like the Gauls/Galatians in Lydia and Phrygia, perpetrators in Diola communities would either be inflicted with illness or persecuted in a dream or vision. This is how the divine administration of justice begins. Spirit-shrines, the *Busundun* "speaking shrines," are specialized in punishing custom violators with illness, protecting people from wrongdoers and warding off thieves.[62]

For instance, to protect one's property from robbers, Girard relates, a peasant would get an *ewt*, "shell," from a spirit shrine filled with a mixture of sand and blood taken from the altar. The shell would be pierced, hung on a stick and planted in the middle of a rice field or hung on a property to ensure that wrongdoers would be stricken with

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at the *ukine* of Kajinol and its role (Baum, *Shrines*, 42–48). See also Linares' treatment of the types of shrines she found in Sambujat (*Power*, 25).

[60] The above translation of the following prayer is mine. "Ata Emit, Tu nous a donné de la pluie, Sois loué! Que le Boekin Husila Soit loué! Que nos ancètres qui nous ont donné la vie soient loués!" See Thomas et Luneau, *Les Religions*, 43.

[61] Thomas et Luneau, *Les Religions*, 48–49. Another Diola worshiper prayed this way: "The One who owns heaven (God), Here is the rice That we are giving to you-Because you gave us your water, For you have compassion on us, And on our children" (idem, *Les Religions*, 43).

[62] Girard, *Genèse*, 58. Confession for wrongdoing in most Diola communities is a public event followed by "sacrifice and ritual of purification" (Baum, *Shrines*, 124, 123–124).

illness and be forced to offer a public confession or suffer death.[63] Soon after the harvest,

> *l' ewt* sera rendu à *Busundun.* En remerciement, le paysan remettra au féticheur des poulets et des coqs à sacrifier ainsi que du vin de palme en vue d' une libation. Le sacrifice est accompagné des mots suivants: "Merci, tu as bien gardé ce qui t' a été confié, voilà ta récompense." Puis l' *ewt* sera suspendu dans le *Busundun* en manière d' ex-voto.[64]
>
> [the *shell* would be returned to the *speaking shrine*. In thanksgiving, the peasant would hand to the priest chickens and roosters to sacrifice along with wine as a libation. The sacrifice would be followed by the following words: "Thank you, you have fully protected what has been entrusted to you, here is your recompense." Then, the shell would be hung inside the sanctuary of the *speaking shrines* as a votive offering.]

Another way culprits may be forced to confess their wrongdoings, as we see in the epigraphic evidence from Anatolia,[65] is through a divine theophany which compels the culprit to seek a consultation at a spirit shrine.[66]

A conscious or unconscious failure to perform appropriate rituals would also invite divine punishment, as Baum convincingly reports:

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[63] Girard, *Genèse*, 58. The *ewt* functions in a similar way to some *defixiones* or curse tablets used in the ancient world. In the Diola case however they are neither placed in tombs nor tombstones. Both Girard and Thomas rightly identify these spirit-shrines as speaking shrines and locate some of these in Floup and Diamat townships. In the Brin-Seleki townships, *Batonghay* is also a speaking spirit-shrine responsible for punishing murders and thefts (see Thomas, *Les Diola*, 2.590–609). Of all his negative critiques of Diola socioreligious traditions, he found the Diola judicial system inextricably linked to the Diola promise of obedience to the spirit-shrines. He concedes, "one cannot deny that the Diola judicial system, in spite of its character being fairly rudimentary, is at this point fully scrupulous" (Thomas, *Les Diola*, 1.296). My translation. Inflicting the culprit with illness recalls Chaniotis' argument that the illness could be either "burning with fever" or "shame" (Chaniotis, "Illness and Cures," 7). See also Strubbe, "Cursed be he that moves my bones," 33–59. In the Diola case, lethal illness is not excluded as noted by Girard.

[64] Girard, *Genèse*, 57–58, points to the fact that some Diola visit a speaking shrine for mental illness or theft. I mentioned above that the Diola socioreligious system of expiation covers a broad range of many offenses. For a clear discussion of these offenses and expiatory provisions at spirit-shrines, see Baum, *Shrines*, 120–6; Thomas, *Les Diola*, 1.291–96; 2.684–88.

[65] *BWK*, 5, 11, 22. Steinleitner, *Die Beicht*, 76–82.

[66] Thomas, *Les Diola*, 1.292, Spirit-shrines could make culprits ill or prosecute them in dreams to seek a purification in order to be made whole.

> A person who was seized with an illness that resisted ordinary cures would seek out a priest of one of the divinatory shrines or someone who had the power to see beneath the surface of things. At the divinatory shrine of Bruinkaw, the spirit was said to speak, and the priest merely translated for the supplicant, thereby revealing the cause of the illness. In other cases, the priest or elder of the shrine would delay an answer until a dream provided them with a cause of the illness; usually the priest identified the spirit that was involved, which lead to the victim's confession of misdeeds or the shrine elders' accusations of wrongdoing against the victim of the illness.[67]

The process begins with a diagnosis aimed at revealing potential causes of illness—a procedure that ensures that the actual confession is efficacious. In fact, "the confession appears thus as an elimination procedure, while the humiliation that it provokes, especially when it is public, that is the case of *gafusō* of Séléki, is already an expiation."[68]

The Role of the Priesthood

The priesthood mediates the divine will and justice to the people through the administration of rituals.[69] Most western ethnographers,

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[67] Baum, *Shrines*, 46. Following the diagnosis, an appropriate ritual would be prescribed. Spirit-shrines do not always accomplish the will of the worshiper—an indication that they cannot be manipulated. Needs mediated by shrine visitors are sometimes denied, even corporate ones. The following prayer illustrates such a reality. "To the rock, receive this water and honey. Listen to what the villagers are saying. Go before God and ask God to help me obtain water. Ask God for rain so that all the harvest be good and the land fertile. Let it rain! Make it so God will give us rain like I pray. All of the village supports me in being their intermediary between you and God. You are the shrine; I come before you to perform my libation. It is your task to go before God. This is all that I will say to you. It is for you to pardon me. Go to God, do not humiliate me before my people" (Girard, *Genèse*, 124). *Elenkin* means rock—a metaphor applied to the spirit-shrine. Community members pray to *Emitai* for various needs. Shrines do not all serve the same function. Linares, *Power*, 25, shows there are shrines specialized in adjudicating disputes between two or more individuals. Other shrines punish individuals who violated "serious moral interdictions." Visitors tend to visit shrines according to their areas of effectiveness. See also Baum, *Shrines*, 45–48 for more details on the various spirit-shrines throughout Esulalu townships.

[68] Thomas, *Les Diola*, 2.686. My translation. He rightly points to the fact that there are many types of confessions in Diola communities for various crimes. Strikingly, his footnote refers to R. Pettazzoni's work on confession of sins. These confessions note and affirm the power of words as a key agent in the expiation process and, I would add, the reconciliation between worshiper and deity.

[69] Louis-Vincent Thomas, "Les Diola D' antan: A Propos des Diola 'traditionnels' (1) de Basse-Casamance," in *Comprendre la Casamance: Chronique d' une intégration contrastée* (ed. Francois-George Barbier-Wiesser; Paris: Editions Karthala, 1994), 72–73, 71–95. It is interesting to read through Thomas' most recent work. Except for the word animist,

anthropologists, and sociologists agree that Diola people live in a stateless society[70] and that they would fight to the death to resist any centralized government pressure that might compromise their freedom. Although Albert-Barbier thinks recent Diola uprising against the government of Senegal stems from their resistence to the French colonial,[71] I would argue that Diola resistence is against any centralized government—a lifestyle as old as Diola identity itself.[72] The Diola notion of freedom centers on their understanding of and experiences of *Ata* or *Ala Emit* in their *hankahou* (communities). For this reason, religion plays a crucial role, and the function of the priesthood is essential. The presence of the divine in Diola community is mediated by the community's *goueessine* or *houkinn* (shrines) under the administration of *ouwasena*/kouwasena "priests/priest-kings."[73] The origin of some shrines is often traced back to the time of the first ancestors—an oral reconstruction that captures events that shaped Diola identity for generations.[74]

Ata, Ala Emit, or *Emitai* is mediated by priests or priest-kings whose role is to ensure the proper administration of rituals through which the divine is made accessible to community members. Spirit-shrines over which priest-kings preside are socioreligious, economic, and therapeutic centers—a reality embedded in the above mentioned rituals and prayers.[75] Some Diola priests-kings therefore interpreted, investigated, performed healing rituals, administrated oaths, related their visions to

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he made an effort to use authentic Diola terms (see page 72) instead of foreign words that inaccurately describe the Diola and their society.

[70] Roche, *Histoire*, 36. See also Thomas, *Les Diola*, 2.540, who previously affirmed that "true freedom," for the Diola, "does not exist," but now appears to affirm the Diola belief and exercise of freedom (Thomas, "Diola D' antan," 74).

[71] Brigitte Albert-Barbier, "Le Coeur: L' histoire D' Adele D.," *Comprendre la Casamance: Chronique d' une intégration contrastée* (ed. Francois-George Barbier-Wiesser; Paris: Editions Karthala, 1994), 41–45.

[72] See Andriamirado, "La guerre," 26–30. The recent Diola clashes however reflect Diola refusal to be colonized by any group of people regardless of whether they be Europeans or Africans. I will return to this topic in my concluding chapter.

[73] Roche, *Histoire*, 37. Thomas, "Les Diola d' Antan," 72. The *ewyi* (Séléki) or *oeyi* "priest-king" is chosen by members of their community and renamed. He puts on red clothes, wears a red hat and carries a scepter symbolizing his throne. Except in the mediation of rituals, he lives in seclusion.

[74] Girard, *Genèse*, 44; Roche, *Histoire*, 37–38.

[75] Thomas, *Les Diola*, 2. 609–610. These spirit-shrines have various functions ranging from the diagnostic, initiatory, professional, and household to the ethical, preserving religion, and the therapeutic. Preistly inpersonators of Ata or Ala Emit carried out these interrogations at the sanctuaries of speaking spirit-shrines. This practice is pervasive in cultures other than those of the Graeco-Roman world in antiquity. See deBord, *Aspects*, 27–28, on the diffusion of therapeutic shrines in the ancient world.

the people, and ensured that divine justice is enforced. This multivalent function was significantly destabilized by the colonial advent during which French missionaries (the Holy Ghost Fathers) labeled their religious practices as satanic.[76] As I state above, Diola *hankakou* "communities" are marked by a strong sense of collectivism and egalitarianism regulated by religious rituals mediated by the *Awasena*.[77] Contradicting reports by French colonists, missionaries, and anthropologists, the Diola believes in a universal *Emitai*, "the one who owns the heavens," and is the creator of all things. Religion for the Diola is a *path* that encompasses all dimensions of life and, therefore, is a lived experience.[78] That being the case, what cultural and religious displacement has French colonization caused to Diola people? To answer this question, a treatment of Diola clashes with the colonial French is necessary.

Prophecy of Resistence and Creation of an Alternative Hank *"Community"*

Socioreligious and Economic Context

Having discussed the role of the Diola priests/priest-kings in Diola communities, it is important to note that the coming of the French has somewhat altered the Diola socioreligious world, by their misunderstanding the Diola socioreligious practices and language.[79] Being the most fertile part of the country, Diola territory is known as the bread basket of the entire country. Rice has been and still is the main crop in this region—a fact recognized by most experts on Diola society.[80]

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[76] Baum, "Emergence," 386.

[77] *Awasena* "the one who performs rituals," functions as the priest of the community in the same way the Druids mediated religious convictions to the Gauls.

[78] Baum, *Shrines*, 17, 36–38. The italics are mine. In the Acts of the Apostles, followers of Jesus were know as τῆς ὁδοῦ ὄντας "those of the Way/Path" (Acts 9:2). See also Acts 8:25; 19:9, 23; 22:4; 24:14, 22.

[79] Baum, "Emergence," 370–398. I am indebted to Baum's work for its unique grasp of Diola people. He discusses the rise of a Diola Christianity paying close attention to three eventful periods of contact with European missionaries. Idem, "Crimes of the Dream World," 201–228. The Diola language of soul eating in a spiritual dimension is understood in a literal sense by French colonists. This led to the trial and executions of many Diola people accused without empirical evidence of cannibalism and witchcraft.

[80] Olga F. Linares, "Shell Middens of the Lower Casamance and Protohistory," *WAJA* 1(1971): 23–54; idem, *Power*, 17–23. In addition to farming rice, Baum, *Shrines*, 28–34, notes farm animals such as "poultry, goats, pigs, cattle and sheep" in Esulalu society. Pigs, goats and sheep are often reserved for specific sacrifices or traded. Farm animals constitute a significant economic resource for the Diola.

For the Diola, rice is sacred because it is a divine gift that sustains life. Originally, the Casamance was part of the Portugese territory of Guinée Bissau and through political negotiations it was incorporated into the country of Senegal.[81]

In contrast to northerners who identify themselves as Senegalese, the Diola eponymously call themselves the *people of Casamance*.[82] For Léopold Sédar Senghor, recent crises in the region resulted from an extant problem that reaches back to the colonial era because French authorities "failed to officially recognize the independence of the region."[83]

Prophetic Resistence to French Colonial Rule

The sociohistorical, religious, and political dimension of Diola resistence to French colonial rule is associated with the prophet Aline Sitoé of Kabrousse,[84] Queen Sibeth of Siganar,[85] and Jiňaabo. At a time

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[81] Lambert, "Violence," 588. This piece of land was negotiated during the Berlin conference by the French. Whereas the Portugese ceded the Casamance, the English refused to relinquish the Gambia to the French. The Gambian British enclave is a visible marker that allows the observer to see sociological differences between the north of Senegal (hierarchical) and the South (egalitarian). The people of the Casamance maintain Lusophone characteristics to this day. The Casamance is not only the bread basket of Senegal, it also has about a "billion barrels of unexploited oil reserve." The region was supposed to have been an independent French colony but after vigorous negotiations, it became part of the Senegalese colony. Lawrence S. Woocher, "'The Casamance Question': An Examination of the Legitimacy of Self-Determination in Southern Senegal," *IJMGR* 7(2000): 341–380, provides an updated analysis of what led up to the revolt in the Casamance. See also Martin Evans, "'The Suffering is Too Great': Urban Internally Displaced Persons in the Casamance Conflict, Senegal," *JRefS* 20/1(2007): 60–85; idem, "Briefing: Senegal Wade and the Casamance Dossier," *AA* 99(2000): 649–658.

[82] Lambert, "Violence," 587.

[83] Lambert, "Violence," 589. Official documents supported the autonomy of the region. In fact, trade between the French and Casamance authorities was carried without Senegalese intermediaries. According to Lambert, after the Second World War, the Casamance was a Senegalese region "on paper, in practice the Casamance experienced a great deal of autonomy. In 1908, for example, the Casamance's Administrator Superior exercised powers equal to those of a Vice-governor. The scope of this control matched that of Senegal's highest colonial official." Abbé Diamacoune Senghor, who spearheaded the Casamance separatist movement, appealed to the region's quest for autonomy since the colonial advent. Besides Diola resistence to French colonial rule, the French residing in the Casamance sought the region's independence from French Senegal (Lambert, "Violence," 590).

[84] Girard, *Genèse*, 217–267; Roche, 40, 284–6.

[85] Djibril Samb, *L' interprétation des rêves dans la région Sénégambienne: Suivie de la clef des songes de la Sénégambie, de l' Egypte pharaonique et de la tradition islamique* (Dakar, SN: Les Nouvelles Éditions Africaines du Senegal, 1975), 149. Aline Sitoé struggled with her

when other Diola people were resigning to colonial dominance, the Diola of Séléki, Bayot fiercely rejected colonial rule and were, as a result, bombed time and again—in vain. This happened from 1886 to 1906, before the birth of Aline Sitoé. They refused to pay taxes and fought to protect their rice fields. Two counties of Séléki, Bayinbāne and Bakěne, were known for their courageous resistence under the leadership of their brave warrior, Jiňaabo.[86]

Socioreligious and economic crises that precipitated the ministries of these Diola leaders ranged from drought to colonial oppression, suppression and alienation of the "*awasena* 'path' or 'way'."[87] Aline Sitoé Diatta emerged as a prophetess amidst these crises claiming to *have been sent* by *Ata* or *Ala Emit* who appeared to her in many dreams.[88] When accused of leading an insurrection against French colonial authorities she answered that she was "a messenger of God who appeared to her many times" and that she was just "transmitting the *oracles* of God."[89] Striking is her claim to have been divinely sent with a message—an expression recalling eighth-century B.C.E. Israelite prophetic self-understanding and the Pauline apostolic self-definition.[90]

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dream and fled to Suzana in Guinée but frequent theophanies forced her to return to her native village to carry out her ministry. Sibeth's call was to conserve shrine traditions; namely customs were not to be changed.

[86] Roche, *Histoire*, 284–9. The assassination of Jiňaabo led to the defeat of the Diola of Bandial (Séléki, Enampour, Geuheul). My grandfather was born in Enampor and my grandmother and mother are all Diola of Séléki.

[87] Marilyn Robinson Waldman and Robert Baum, "Innovation as Renovation: 'The Prophet' as an Agent of Change," *Religious Traditions: Essays in the Interpretation of Religious Change* (RS 31; New York: Monton De Gruyter, 1992), 249. Some elders or priests were often accused and executed by French colonial administrators for being insurrectionists. In most agrarian Diola societies, livelihood and ritual life depends on good rain and harvest.

[88] Robert M. Baum, "Diola Prophets," in *Encyclopedia of African and African-American Religions* (ed. Stephen D. Glazier; New York: Routledge, 2001), 116–18; idem, "*Alinesitoué*: A Diola Woman Prophet in West Africa," in *Unspoken Words: Women's Religious Lives* (3rd ed. ed. Nancy Auer Falk and Rita M. Gross; Belmont, CA: Wordsworth, 2001), 179–95. Samb, *L' interprétation*, 146. She was encountered by the divine at the Sandaga market place of Dakar in 1941. She was born about 1920.

[89] Girard, *Genèse*, 226. My translation and emphasis. Girard records her response in the third person address, saying that she was "'une envoyée de Dieu qui lui était apparu plusieurs fois' et qu'elle ne faisait que 'transmettre les directive qu' il lui dictait.'" See also Samb's rendition of the same archival quotation from Girard (Samb, *L' interprétation des réves*, 144). A long illness left one of Aline Sitoé's legs paralyzed. This led many to speculate that her infirmity was divinely orchestrated to get her attention.

[90] The word, שָׁלַח (MT) and ἀπόστολος (LXX) in Isa 6:8 convey the same meaning—someone sent with an authoritative message. See "ἀπόστολος," *LSJM* , 220; J.-A. Bühner, "ἀπόστολος," *EDNT* 1:142, refers to the writer of Hebrews who applies this

She reinterpreted extant Diola traditional rituals of sacrifice emphasizing God's free and gracious gift bestowed on the people—a gift experienced through repentance and hope.[91] She insists that *Baliba*, "Dieu de miséricorde" ("merciful God"), shapes "a universal communion marked by divine grace"[92]—an inclusive communion devoid of ethnic, gender, and religious distinctions. In contrast to written revelations, hers are continuous and her followers are assured of God's determination to restore their identities that have been shattered by the colonial advent. She calls for a communion that shapes community members, regardless of their ethnic and socioreligious backgrounds, into an alternative community like the one Paul imagined in Gal 2:11–14; 3:26–29.[93]

As is customary of oral African cultures, the messages of Aline Sitoé were enshrined in memorable songs orally conveyed, heard and not written down.[94] Her words were "performative utterances"[95] that

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term to Jesus Christ as one who is sent by God. This word is also Paul's preferred self-identification (see Gal 1:1; 1 Cor 1:1; 9:1–2; 15:9; 2 Cor 1:1). The cynic claims to be divinely sent (Epict. *Gnom*. 3.22–23). See also Herod. *Hist*.1.21. Although Aline Sitoé struggled to accept her call, she later functioned as *Emit*'s prophet whose words significantly shaped her community in response to French colonization (Girard, *Genèse*, 218). Her claim also parallels Graeco-Roman colonial discourses previously discussed.

[91] Girard, *Genèse*, 242. "l'allégeance de l'homme envers Dieu se manifeste à l'aide de formules rituelles symboliques et non plus au moyen de sacrifices et d'offrandes car l'intervention divine apparaît comme un don gratuit, comme l'accord généreux d'une grâce. L' humanité en bénéficie à la suite d'un acte de participation ouvert à tous effectué par une collectivité communiant dans le repentir et l'espérance." "Human allegiance to God 'Emitai' manifests itself through symbolic ritual formulas and not through sacrifices and offerings because divine intervention appears as a free gift like generous agreement or grace. Humanity benefits from it by an act of participation open to all exercised by a collective communing in repentance and hope." My translation.

[92] Girard, *Genèse*, 245.

[93] Peoples such as Mankagne, Baynuk, Mandinka, and Wolof were welcomed regardless of their religious affiliations and ethnicity. See Samb, *L' interprétation*, 148.

[94] Her opponents, namely French colonial administrators, recorded her songs.

[95] J. L. Austin, *How To Do Things With Words* (2nd ed.; J. O. Urmson and Marina Sbisà; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1962/1975), 1–11, argues the language does something in that it affects and effects all aspects of human life. In other words, uttered words, in given conditions, aim at achieving specific deeds. Many anthropologists consider Austin's argument helpful for grasping the significance of ritual life in oral cultures. Ruth Finnegan, "How to do Things with Words: Performative Utterances Among the Limba of Sierra Leone," *Man* 4/4(Dec. 1969): 537–552, finds this to be true among the Limba people of Sierra Leone. This group of people share many things in common with the Diola people in the areas of rice farming, palmwine tapping, respect for their traditional leaders, and orality. Benjamin Ray, "'Performative Utterances' in African Rituals," *History of Religions* 13/1(Aug. 1973): 16–35, reached a similar conclusion pointing to the structural link between ritual words and actions in African socioreligious utterances. D. S. Gardner, "Performativity in Ritual: The Mianmin Case," *Man* 18/2(June 1983): 358, sees a limitation of the

created and shaped a symbolic world within which some of the Diola sociohistorical, socioreligious and socioeconomic convictions would be maintained amidst crushing colonial pressures. Her followers and opponents heard the following message: "…God invites every living person in this world," and "To you God, we ask for forgiveness—And let our missteps go before you, Oh God! Forgive us…God will forgive us before we disperse from this place…"[96] Whereas she encouraged her community members to cultivate Diola traditional crops and carefully manage their rice, she prohibited the farming of French rice and peanuts. She instructed Diola people not to enlist for military service or pay taxes.[97]

Her *Kasila* or shrine calls for equality among peoples in such a way that "no distinctions were made between old and young, rich and poor, male and female."[98] In summary, there are striking similarities between Diola people and the Gauls/Galatians. Although the Gauls/Galatians and the Diola were negatively labeled as savages and barbarians by colonists, their courage in battle was also noted. Diola sociohistorical, socioreligious, and socioeconomic worlds were regulated by the divine judicial system. For Diola people, nothing escapes the eyes of *Ata, Ala Emit*. Unlike Graeco-Roman gods who send colonists to displace others, Aline Sitoé's *Emitai* sends her with a message that creates and shapes free alternative and inclusive communities in spite of intense colonial alienation—inclusive communities that will live on under the aegis of *Emitai*. I argue that her message is a sociopostcolonial hermeneutics.

Austinian "performative utterances" insisting "there is a gap between what people do and what divinity requires." Although his point is well taken, he misses the fact that Austin speaks of words doing things in specific cases.

[96] Girard, *Genèse*, 241–3.

[97] Dominique Darbon, "'La Voix de la Casamance' une parole diola," *Documents*, 14 Janvier 1985, 131–132; Girard, *Genèse*, 218.

[98] Waldman and Baum, "Innovation," 251, offer an insightful study contrasting the ministries of Aline Sitoé and Mohammed (ibid., 241–75; especially, pages 263–75). Aline Sitoé viewed planting the kind of rice and peanuts introduced by French authorities as a threat to Diola livelihood. She rightly thought that the French colonists were introducing a single cash crop in order to monopolize Diola communities (Girard, *Genèse*, 233–4, 265–6; Waldman and Baum, "Innovation," 251–2). Girard defines *Kasila* as "a gift without a counter gift" (Girard, *Genèse*, 241). For collected songs/messages of Aline Sitoé, see Girard, *Genèse*, 252–355.

CHAPTER FOUR

MODES OF COMMUNITY AND IDENTITY FORMATION: AN EXEGESIS OF GALATIANS 2:11–14 AND 3:26–29

Conflict and Parting of Ways with an Enslaving Mission: Galatians 2:11–14

> [11]Now when Cephas came to Antioch, I withstood him to his face, because he stood self-condemned;[12] for before certain people came from James, he used to eat with non-Judeans. But when they arrived, he drew back and kept himself separate, fearing those of the circumcision. [13]And the other Judeans joined him in this hypocrisy, so that even Barnabas was led astray by their hypocrisy. [14]But when I saw that they were not acting consistently with the truth of the gospel, I said to Cephas before them all, "If you, being a Judean, live like a non-Judean and not like a Judean, how can you compel non-Judeans to become Judeans?"[1]

Chapters two and three traced sociohistorical, socioreligious, and sociopolitical dimensions of the Gauls/Galatians and the Diola. This chapter exegetes Galatians 2:11–14 and 3:26–29. Gal 2:11–14 however must be read in the context of Gal 1:11–2:14[2] with Gal 2:15–21 as its integral part[3] and Gal 3:28 as its sociopostcolonial hermeneutical microcosm which Hans Dieter Betz calls "a political slogan."[4] Delving into the Pauline "irony" and "rebuke" argument, Nils A. Dahl reads Gal 2:11–14 and Gal 3:26–29 as micro-structures of Gal 1:6–4:11.[5] Paul's rhetorical shift from the particle ἔπειτα, "then" (Gal 1:18, 21; 2:1),

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[1] My translation from Nestlé-Aland, *Novum Testamentum Graece* (27th edition; Stuttgart, Germany: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1993).

[2] Betz, *Galatians*, 16–19; Idem, "The Literary Composition and Function of Paul's Letter to the Galatians," in *The Galatians Debate* (ed. Mark D. Nanos; Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 2002), 3–28; Longenecker, *Galatians*, 63; Lührmann, *Galatians*, 43.

[3] Lührmann, *Galatians,* 45–50; François Vouga, "An die Galater," *Handbuch zum Neuen Testament 10* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998), 21–55; Adolf Pohl, "Der Brief des Paulus an die Galater," *Wuppertaler Studienbibel* (begründet von Fritz Rienecker und Werner de Boor; Zurich: R. Brochaus Verlag Wuppertal und Zürich, 1995), 83–109.

[4] Betz, *Galatians*, 191–2. See my elaboration on Betz' s crucial link of the slogan to Judeans and Greeks in the next chapter on Gal 3:26–29.

[5] Nils A. Dahl, "Galatians: Genre, Content, and Structure," in *The Galatians Debate* (ed. Mark D. Nanos; Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 2002), 117–142, especially pages 132–39. See also G. Walter Hansen, "A Paradigm of the Apocalypse: The Gospel

to Ὅτε δὲ, "but when" (Gal 2:11), clearly alerts the reader to shifts in his gospel proclamation.[6]

Determining the nature of the epistolary and rhetorical structures of the epistle has generated much debate since Betz's characterization of its language as forensic rhetoric, a genre consistent with Graeco-Roman epistolary and rhetorical conventions.[7] Modified conclusions have since emerged ranging from forensic rhetoric to a "mixed rhetorical genre."[8] Pauline multivalency is evident in his incorporation of both Graeco-Roman literary conventions and features of Hebrew poetry.[9] For our purposes, we will assume that the Apostle Paul used these literary conventions as ἀπόστολος… διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ θεοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ ἐγείραντος αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν,… "an apostle… through Jesus Christ and God the father who raised him from the dead," (Gal 1:1) to write the epistle to the Galatians. He received (παραλαμβάνω) the Good News "τὸ εὐαγγέλλιον," that he preached to the Galatians δι' ἀποκαλύψεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ "through a revelation of Jesus Christ"—a message that justifies people διὰ πίσεως, "by faith)"[10] It is with this conviction

in the Light of Epistolary Analysis," in *The Galatians Debate* (ed. Mark D. Nanos; Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 2002), 143–154, who reaches the same conclusion.

[6] Martyn, *Galatians*, 229–31; Betz, *Galatians*, 16–19. For a striking structural parallel with Romans, see Schnelle, *Paul*, 270.

[7] Betz, *Galatians*, 14–25; idem, "Literary Composition, 3–28.

[8] Longenecker, *Galatians*, 185. For more details on structural and epistolary significance of the epistle, see Longenecker, "Galatians," c-cxix. Other modifications of Betz's thesis range from deliberative rhetoric [Robert G. Hall, "The Rhetorical Outline for Galatians: A Reconsideration," in *The Galatians Debate* (ed. Mark D. Nanos; Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 2002), 29–38; Joop Smit, "The Letter of Paul to the Galatians: A Deliberative Speech," in *The Galatians Debate* (ed. Mark D. Nanos; Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 2002), 29–59], to a combination of various rhetorical features: "judicial," "deliberative" and "epideictic" [Robert M. Berchman, "Galatians (1:1–5): Paul and Greco-Roman Rhetoric," in *The Galatians Debate* (ed. Mark D. Nanos; Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 2002), 60–72].

[9] Longenecker, *Galatians*, cxiv, offers a helpful discussion of Paul's use of both Graeco-Roman and Hebraic literary features in his rhetoric insisting that "Chiasmus was one of the rhetorical tools lying at hand for Paul's use. It probably reflects, in large measure, the *parallelism membrorum* of Jewish thought generally and Israel poetry in particular." John D. Harvey, *Listening to the Text: Oral Patterning in Paul's Letters* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books, 1998), 61–118 and James D. G. Dunn, *The Epistle to the Galatians* (BNTC; Peabody, MA; Hendrickson Publishers, 1993), 20, reaches a similar conclusion. For detailed rhetorical structures of Galatians in recent years, see Betz, *Galatians*, 14–25; Longenecker, *Galatians*, c–cxix; Harvey, *Listening to the Text*, 217–30, and pages 3–196 of *The Galatians Debate.*

[10] Gal 2:16c. The words Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ following πίστις are omitted in P^{46}, A, D^2, Ψ, 0278*, 33, 1739, …but they are recorded in א, B, C, D*, F, G, H, 81, 104….See textual apparatus in Nestlé-Aland, *Novum Testamentum Graece*, 496. In Galatians, the

of the central role of faith and his self-understanding as God's apostle that Paul engaged his contemporary Judeans, diaspora Judeans, and the Gauls/Galatians in dialogue over what it meant to be God's free καινὴ κτίσις, "new creation."

According to Josephus, diaspora Judeans of Antioch attracted and incorporated other people into their communities.

> Τὸ γὰρ Ἰουδαίων γένος πολὺ μὲν κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην παρέσπαρται τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις πλεῖστον δὲ τῇ Συρίᾳ κατὰ τὴν γειτνίασιν ἀναμεμιγμένον ἐξαιρέτως ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας ἦν πολὺ διὰ τὸ τῆς πόλεως μέγεθος μάλιστα δ' αὐτοῖς ἀδεᾶ τὴν ἐκεῖ κατοίκησιν οἱ μετ' Ἀντίοχον βασιλεῖς παρέσχον…[11]
>
> For, as the Jewish nation is widely dispersed over all the habitable earth among its inhabitants, so it is very much mixed with Syria, by reason of its neighbourhood, and had the greatest multitudes in Antioch, by reason of the size of the city, wherein the kings, after Antiochus, had afforded them a habitation with the most undisturbed tranquillity….

Interestingly, Josephus uses the word ἀναμεμιγμένον[12] to depict the social reality in social interactions between Judeans and non-Judeans in Antioch. As one might expect, Judean and non-Judean Christians associated with one another as well—a social interaction some Judean Christians from Jerusalem interrupted. In verse 11, Paul asserts that Peter κατεγνωσμένος ἦν "was condemned" by his own deportment.[13]

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nominal form, πίστις occurs twenty one times [(1:23; 2:16, 20; 3:2, 5, 7–9, 11–12, 14, 22–26; 5:5–6, 22; 6:10), the verbal form, πίστεύω four times (2:7, 16; 3:6, 22) and one time (3:9) in the adjectival form, πίστος [John R. Kohlenberger III, Edward W. Goodrick and James A. Swanson, *The Exhaustive Concordance to the Greek New Testament* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1995), 4409, 4411–4412].

[11] Josephus, *J.W.* 7.43. The level of interaction between diaspora Judeans and Greeks is fascinating. Although Antiochus destroyed the Jerusalem Temple, he gave the spoils to diaspora Judeans who lived in Antioch and considered them as free and equal citizens "ἐξ ἴσου τῆς πόλεως" to Greeks (ibid., *J.W.* 7.44). Since Antiochus' successors continued the same practice, the mixed community grew as its Judean/Greek members attached (προσάγω) themselves to other Greeks, incorporating them into their thriving community (ibid., *J.W.* 7.45). This picture reflects the setting of Gal 2:11 which may have given rise to the complaint recorded in Acts 11:19–26.

[12] The word "ἀναμίγνυμι," *LEH*, 41, means "to mix up, to mix together" or "to be mixed with." Josephus uses ἀναμεμιγμένον—a participle in the perfect tense passive meaning mixed or "mixed together or with others." ἀεί τε προσαγόμενοι ταῖς θρησκείαις πολὺ πλῆθος Ἑλλήνων, κἀκείνους τρόπῳ τινὶ μοῖραν αὐτῶν πεποίηντο. "They also made proselytes of a great many of the Greeks perpetually, and thereby, after a sort, brought them to be a portion of their own body" (Josephus, *J.W.* 7.45. The term discussed above is also found in *Esth* 3:13.4 LXX and Josephus, *J.W.* 2.463).

[13] *LSJM*, "καταγιγνώσκω," 886. Against Ulrich Wilckens, "καταγιγνώσκω," *TDNT* 8.568, who thinks condemnation before God is in view here, Bruce, *Galatians*, 129,

The expression μετὰ τῶν ἐθνῶν συνήσθιεν "he customarily ate with Gentiles" in verse 12 implies both regular meals and the Lord's Supper (compare Gal 2:11–14 with Acts 10:28 and 11:3).

In the Judean communities of Egypt, table-fellowship between Diaspora Judeans and non-Judeans was strongly debated as evidenced by the writer of the *Letter of Aristeas* who advises his readers saying:

> συνθεωρήσας οὖν ἕκαστα σοφὸς ὢν ὁ νομοθέτης, ὑπὸ θεοῦ κατεσκευασμένος εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν τῶν ἁπάντων, περιέφραξεν ἡμᾶς ἀδιακόποις χάραξι καὶ σιδηροῖς τείχεσιν, ὅπως μηθενὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν ἐπιμισγώμεθα κατὰ μηδέν, ἁγνοὶ καθεστῶτες κατὰ σῶμα καὶ κατὰ ψυχήν, ἀπολελυμένοι ματαίων δοξῶν, τὸν μόνον θεὸν καὶ δυνατὸν σεβόμενοι παρ' ὅλην τὴν πᾶσαν κτίσιν…ὅπως οὖν μηθενὶ συναλισγούμενοι μηδ' ὁμιλοῦτες φαύλοις διαστροφὰς λαμβάνωμεν, πάντοθεν ἡμᾶς περιέφραξεν ἁγνείαις καὶ διὰ βρωτῶν καὶ ποτῶν καὶ ἁφῶν καὶ ἀκοῆς καὶ ὁράσεως νομικῶς.[14]
>
> Therefore our lawgiver, equipped by God for insight into all things, had scrutinized each particular, he fenced us about with impregnable palisades and with walls of iron, to the end that we should not mix with any of the other nations, remaining pure in body and in spirit, emancipated from vain opinions, revering the one and mighty God above the whole creation…Thus, to prevent our being perverted by contact with others or by mixing with bad influences, hedged us in on all sides with strict observance connected with meat and drink and touch and hearing and sight, after the manner of the Law.

Carl R. Holladay argues that while some Alexandrian Judeans were at home in their diaspora setting (Demetrius, Artapanus, and Aristobulus, for example,) others emphasized their Judean identity (Pseudo-Hecataeus and Ezekiel the Tragedian) with a strong desire to return to their home-

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speaks of Paul being condemned by his own deportment. I concur with Wilckens that Peter's condemnation is before God whose gospel has the power to free and to condemn (Rom 1:1–18). Josephus notes, of the Essenes' avoidance of oaths, "ἤδη γὰρ κατεγνῶσθαί φασιν τὸν ἀπιστούμενον δίχα θεοῦ "For they say that one who is not believed without swearing by God already stands condemned" (Josephus, *J.W.* 2.135). My translation.

[14] *Let. Aris.* 139, 142. My translation from *Aristeas to Philocrates (Letter of Aristeas)* (trans. and ed. Moses Hadas; New York: Harper & Brothers, 1951), 156 (Greek text). Citing Philo, *Quod det. Pot.* 4–7, Hadas thinks the writer's comments were counter "charges of separatism such as are adduced at Esther 3.8 and III Maccabees 3.4." Food laws enforcers were primarily concerned with promoting a spiritual worldview that would maintain socially separate identity. Those of the circumcision party certainly hold to this belief (Gal 2:12). The ψευδαδέλφοι ("false believers") could have been advocating a similar perspective (Gal 2:4).

land.[15] The latter express their ethnic identity through their loyalty to "Torah and commitment to 'ancestral [laws] τὰ πάτρῳα, Frg. 1.191)' which take the form of openly resisting competing forms of worship, even destroying non-Jewish temples and altars."[16] Unlike Ezekiel the Tragedian, and Pseudo-Hecataeus, Paul does not seek to establish his identity ties with Palestinian Judeans. Citing Phil 3:20, Holladay insists Paul's home is heaven not Judea or the diaspora. Given the above, it is clear that Paul was in debate with diaspora Judeans in Egypt as well. Calvin J. Roetzel captures this reality suggesting that

> while Paul did not borrow directly from the Alexandrian community, that community provides a useful model, nevertheless, for understanding how Diaspora Jews balanced loyalty to the Jewish Torah, the temple and the land with attraction to the Hellenistic culture.[17]

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[15] Carl R. Holladay, "Paul and His Predecessors in the Diaspora: Some Reflections on Ethnic Identity in the Fragmentary Hellenistic Jewish Authors," in *Early Christianity and Classical Culture: Comparative Studies in Honor of Abraham J. Malherbe* (SNT; ed. John T. Fitzgerald et al.; New York: Brill Academic Press, 2003), 429–60. The latter were more ethnocentric than the former.

[16] Holladay, "Paul and His Predecessors," 442, 451–59; idem, *Fragments from Hellenistic Jewish Authors* (4 vols.; SBLTT; Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1983–96). Intermarriage between uncircumcised non-Judeans and Judeans is forbidden. Theodotus' work prohibits intermarriage between Shechemites and the descendants of Jacob "πρὶν ἂν ἢ πάντας τοὺς οἰκοῦντας τὰ Σίκιμα περιτεμνομένους Ἰουδαΐσαι· …φησὶ δὲ περὶ τοῦ δεῖν περιτέμνεσθαι αὐτοὺς ὁ Ἰακώβ· 'οὐ γὰρ δὴ θεμιτόν γε τόδ' Ἑβραίοισι τέτυκται, γαμβροὺς ἄλλοθεν εἴς γε νυούς τ' ἀγέμεν ποτὶ δῶμα, ἀλλ' ὅστις γενεῆς ἐξεύχεται εἶναι ὁμοίης,'" "until all those living in Shechem became Judeans by being circumcised…and he says about their need to be circumcised: for indeed this very thing is prohibited for Hebrews to bring home sons-in-law and daughters-in-law from another place but only whoever boasts on being of the same race" [Theodotus, *Frag.* 4.10–20 in *FHJA* 2.116–17 (my translation)]. The term Ἰουδαΐσαι used here is also found in Gal 2:14 and Esther 8:17 LXX. Holladay argues that the appearance of both περιτέμνω and Ἰουδαΐσαι "in Esther 8:17 and Theodotus" suggests they "are used synonymously, both of these usages, if taken seriously as parallels, would require Ἰουδαΐζειν in Gal 2:14 to be rendered not as 'live as a Judean,' but 'become a Judean,' that is, be circumcised" (Holladay, "Paul and His Predecessors," 460; idem, *FHJA* 2.68–70; Josephus, *J.W.* 2.454, 463). This is ethnocentrism. Holladay's discussion of Bezalel Bar-Kochva, *Pseudo-Hecataeus, "On the Jews": Legitimizing the Jewish Diaspora* (Berkeley: California University Press, 1996) is insightful. A fascinating treatment of Hecataeus in contrast to other diaspora Judeans in Egypt like Philo and those in Palestine is found in Bar-Kochva, *Pseudo-Hecataeus*, 168–302 and Doron Mendels, *Identity, Religion and Historiography: Studies in Hellenistic History* (JSPSup 24; ed. James H. Charlesworth and Lester L. Grabbe; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 324–350, 394–419. Frederick J. Murphy, *Pseudo-Philo: Rewriting the Bible* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 60, 252, Pseudo-Philo was also ethnocentric.

[17] Calvin J. Roetzel, "*Oikoumene* and the Limits of Pluralism in Alexandrian Judaism and Paul," *Diaspora Jews and Judaism: Essays in Honor of and in Dialogue with A. Thomas*

Roetzel finds an unresolved tension between universalism and particularism in both the Alexandrian and Pauline literature. The difference, he insists, is "one of degree and not of kind."[18]

The author of *Jubilees*, elsewhere in the diaspora, insists: "separate yourself from the non-Judeans, and do not eat with them, and do not perform deeds like theirs. And do not become associates of theirs. Because their deeds are defiled."[19] Elsewhere in the Persian empire, Esther prays, "καὶ οὐκ ἔφαγεν ἡ δούλη σου τράπεζαν Αμαν καὶ οὐκ ἐδόξασα συμπόσιον βασιλέως οὐδὲ ἔπιον οἶνον σπονδῶν"[20] "and your servant has not eaten at Haman's table, and I have not honored the king's feast or drunk the wine of libations." Clearly, while some of these texts are concerned with personal loyalty to food laws (*Esth* 14:17; *Tob* 1:11) and eating separately (*Jdt* 10:5; 12:2, 17–19), others call for a total separation from non-Judeans (*Let. Aris.*142 and *Jub.* 22:16).[21]

Balch, after a meticulous investigation of 2 Maccabees, Eupolemus, Greek Additions to Esther, Letter of Aristeas, and Luke-Acts, concludes

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Kraabel (SFSHJ 41; ed. J. Andrew Overman and Robert S. MacLenan; Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1992), 163.

[18] Roetzel, "*Oikoumene*," 182.

[19] *Jub.* 22:16. The author went on to highlight other reasons for this separation such as unclean, polluting, and abominable practices, acts of sacrificing to the dead, idolatry, and ignorance (*Jub.* 22:16–18). See James Charlesworth, ed., *The Old Testament Pseudepigraha: Expansions of the 'Old Testament' and Legends, Wisdom and Philosophical Literature, Prayers, Psalms and Odes, Fragments of Lost Judeo-Hellenistic Works* (ABRL; vol. 2; New York: Doubleday, 1985) and compare with Gal 2:12; Dan 1:8; 2 Macc 7:1.

[20] *Esth* 4:17.24 (LXX, ed. Rahlfs). She expresses her undivided loyalty to food laws in the same way Tobit did (Tob 1:11). Although Tobit says οἱ ἀδελφοί μου καὶ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ γένους μου ἤσθιον ἐκ τῶν ἄρτων τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐγὼ δὲ συνετήρησα τὴν ψυχήν μου μὴ φαγεῖν, "my kindred and some of my people ate the food of Gentiles and I preserved myself not to eat," he reckons with the fact that other Judeans did not observe food laws (Tob 1:10). See also 1 Macc 1:62–63.

[21] Philip F. Esler, *Community*, 80–3. In dialogue with Esler, Craig C. Hill agrees with Esler that the issue over table-fellowship lies on "*Jewish obedience to food laws*" [Craig Hill, *Hellenists and Hebrews: Reappraising Division within the Earliest Church* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1992), 121)]. His conclusion that the real issue has nothing to do with "mixed table-fellowship" is based on his evaluations of Judean texts such as Gen 43:32; *Jub*. 22:16; Add Esth 14:17; Tob 1:11*; Jos. Asen.* 7:1. Against Hill, to obey food laws inevitably leads to shunning mixed table-fellowship as was the case in both Antioch and probably Galatia. See also Esler, *Galatians*, 58–140. See Michael D. Goulder, *Paul and the Competing Mission in Corinth* (LPS; ed. Stanley Porter; Peabody MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 2001). He reduces early Christian missions into two: Petrine and Pauline—a reduction that ignores the various trends that constituted the earliest Churches [James D. G. Dunn, ed., *Jews and Christians: The Parting of Ways A.D. 70–135* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1992); idem, *Unity and Diversity in the New Testament* (2nd ed.; Peabody, MA: Trinity International Press, 1990); Raymond E. Brown and John P. Meier, *Antioch and Rome* (New York: Paulist Press, 1982)].

that, except for Esther, high priests and temple rituals offered various ways for Judeans and foreigners to interact.[22] Whereas associations between Judeans and non-Judeans did not abolish Judean practices, Luke's characters ("Jesus, Peter and Paul") exercised welcoming—a flexible and open sphere of existence where dialogue on "political/ethnic/theological choices" becomes a possibility.[23]

Daniel and his fellow Judeans displaced by the Babylonian captivity in 587/6 B.C.E. were forced to face the question of their identity. Whereas the term ἰουδαΐζειν connotes to become a Judean (Gal 2:14), the word Χαλδαϊκὴν stands for either a body of knowledge or ethnic group (Dan 1:4; 2:2–10; 3:8–12; 4:7; 5:7).[24] The story suggests there was a concerted effort to turn the young Judeans into Chaldeans through education and diet, "ἐσθίοντας," the ration of the King (Dan 1:4, 8–16). Although Daniel did not resist education, he considered eating the king's food a violation of Judean dietary laws and therefore ritually defiling. His abstinence can be legitimated on the grounds of Lev 3:17;

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[22] David L. Balch, "Attitudes Toward Foreigners," of *The Early Church in Its Context* (ed. Abraham J. Malherbe, et al.; New York: Brill, 1998), 22–47. Whereas some foreigners converted to Judaism (Esther and 2 Macc), others simply expressed their admiration for Jewish practices (Eupolemus and Aristeas). Idem, "ἀκριβῶς…γράψαι (Luke 1:3): To Write the *Full* History of God's Receiving All Nations," in *Jesus and the Heritage of Israel: Luke's Narrative Claim upon Israel's Legacy* (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 1999), 248; idem, "METABOLH", 186–7. Association between Judeans and non-Judeans is a complex phenomenon. For details on Judean identity, see Shaye J. D. Cohen, "Crossing the Boundary and Becoming a Jew," *HTR* 82/1(1989):13–33. See also Theodotus, *Frag.* 4.10–20 in *FHJA 2.*116–17 and Holladay, *FHJA 2.*68–70.

[23] Balch, "Attitudes," 47.

[24] *BDB*, "כַּשְׂדִּים," 505. The young Judeans "were to be taught the literature and language of the Chaldeans" (Dan 1:4). From the perspective of the Senegalese experiences of colonialism, כַּשְׂדִּים or Χαλδαϊκὴν recalls the French policy of assimilation arrogantly called *L' oeuvre civilisatrice* by Michelet and Lesourd. Danna Nolan Fewell, *Circle of Sovereignty: A Story of Stories in Daniel 1–6* (JSOTSup 72; ed. David J. A. Clines; England: Sheffield University Press, 1988), 33–43, rightly thinks "by assigning such a diet, Nebuchadnezzar imposes political allegiance" (Daniel's objection has to do with ritual defilement). The aorist subjunctive passive συμμολύνομαι may be "caused to defile" or the hiphil גָּאַל" "caused to pollute" oneself ritually (see "συμμολύνω," *LSJM,* 1679 and "גָּאַל"," *HALOT*, 1542). "The captives are to be dependent upon him and indebted to him for their existence, not to mention their social success" (Fewell, *Circle*, 37). וּלְלַמְּדָם סֵפֶר וּלְשׁוֹן כַּשְׂדִּים "and were to be taught in the literature and the language of the Chaldeans" (scripture taken from *BHS*). Language and literature were key instruments French administrators used to colonize Senegal. For ἰουδαΐζειν, see Josephus, *J.W.* 2.454, 463; *Esth* 8:17 and compare with Gal 2:14.

11:1–47; 17:10–14.[25] These diaspora stories would have influenced Judeans living under Rome's imperial rule.

Whereas Josephus assumes Judeans were united, he delineates philosophical differences between Pharisees, Sadducees, Essenes, and even describes "the fourth philosophy" as a distinctive group in Judaism.[26] Josephus' account shows that Judaism was a dynamic phenomenon with competing voices. Peter could have been influenced by most of these traditions.[27] The strong prohibition I note above was a socioreligious reality that might have given rise, by the time of Paul, to ὑπόκρισις, "playacting," on the part of Judeans who favored Gentile inclusion or exclusion. Betz argues that Peter was simply enforcing the agreements reached during the Jerusalem conference regarding Gentile Christians (Acts 15:19–29).[28] In any event, Peter progressively ὑπέστελλεν καὶ ἀφώριζεν ἑαυτόν, "was withdrawing and separating himself."

The use of the imperfect tense implies that Peter's withdrawal was progressive and, in light of his apostolic influence, that the remaining Judean Christians συνυπεκρίθησαν αὐτῷ "joined his playacting" along with Barnabas.[29] A fascinating parallel found in Epictetus illustrates this behavioral inconsistency.

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[25] In any case, Dan 10:3 indicates that Daniel compromised by relinquishing his convictions on dietary laws. This might be a reminder that cultic defilement, as far as displaced communities are concerned, cannot be avoided (Ez 4:13; Hos 9:3). According to the author of 2 Kgs 25:27–29, Jehoiachin ate from the king's table.

[26] Josephus, *C. Ap.* 2.279–81; *J.W.* 2:118–19; *Ant.* 18:1.1–24.

[27] Betz quotes the *Kerygmata Petrou*, 4 (see Betz, *Galatians*, 331), which appears to shed light onto the conflict at Antioch from a Petrine perspective. It would make sense to identify the "*enemy*" with the Apostle Paul. This may be the reason the author of the *Kerygmata Petrou* has Peter asking James not to share his sermons with non-Judeans and complaining that some non-Judeans have given up his law-bound-gospel for "a lawless and absurd doctrine *of the man who is my enemy.*" The author insists: "and indeed some have attempted, whilst I am still alive, to distort my words by interpretations of many sorts, as if I taught the dissolution of the law and, although I was of this opinion, did not express it openly. But that may God forbid. For to do such a thing means to act contrary to the law of God which was made known by Moses and was confirmed by our Lord in its everlasting continuance."

[28] Betz, *Galatians*, 105–6.

[29] My speculation is that the inceptive imperfect signaled that Peter's progressive withdrawal from table-fellowship could have been the result of much debate between James' emissaries and Paul. The context suggests the men from James never practiced table-fellowship with Gentiles, and it is conceivable that Peter was again (Acts 11:17) pressured to account for his association with Gentiles. Whereas Luke paints Peter as one who is persuaded by the Spirit to go to Gentiles and not to make distinction [ηδὲν διακρίναντα "without making any distinction" (Acts 11:12; 15:9)], Paul finds him easily swayed by people—echoing the idea that Peter was a human pleaser (πείθω, ἀρέσκω

> Why, then, do you call yourself a stoic, why do you deceive the multitude, why do you act the part of a Jew, when you are a Greek? . . . For example, whenever we see a person halting between two faiths, we are in the habit of saying, "He is not a Jew, he is only acting the part, "ὑποκρίνεται."[30]

The reason that the majority of Christians sided with Peter probably lies in the authority vested in him as the lead Apostle to the Judeans (Gal 2:7; Matt 16:16–19). As far as Paul is concerned, Peter οὐκ ὀρθοποδοῦσιν πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν, "did not act rightly toward the truth" (Gal 2:14) by withdrawing from table-fellowship for fear of τοὺς ἐκ περιτομῆς[31] "those of the circumcision" (Gal 2:12). The arrival of James' emissaries affected Peter's deportment and possibly the course of early church history. In the following famous assertion, Polybius provides an interesting example that highlights inconsistent human behavior:

> For all men are given to adapt themselves to the present and assume a character 'συνυποκρινόμενοι' suited to the times, so that from their words and actions it is difficult to judge of the principles of each, and in many cases the truth is quite overcast.[32]

Peter's behavior is so influential that it compels "ἀναγκάζεις" non-Judeans ἰουδαΐζειν "to become Judeans"—an intolerable (Gal 2:11) action worthy of rebuke. Paul is shocked that Peter, who exercised table fellowship with non-Judeans, has reverted to the practice of Judean rituals of separation and thus he and others οὐκ ὀρθοποδοῦσιν πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου (2:14); ὀρθοποδοῦσιν[33] "are not acting

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Gal 1:10). Bruce J. Malina and Jerome H. Neyrey, *Portraits of Paul: An Archaeology of Ancient Personality* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 1996), 33–50, read Gal 1:12–2:14 through the lenses of Graeco-Roman encomia. Paul implicitly characterizes Peter as inferior for his insincerity to the gospel, and in the process praises himself as superior.

[30] Epictetus, *Diatr.* 2.9.19–22. Epictetus is concerned with the consistency between faith and practice that distinguishes a true Christian from a false one (ibid., 2.9.13–22). Compare with Gal 2:13–14.

[31] James D. G. Dunn, "The Incident at Antioch (Gal 2:11–18)," *JSNT* 18(1983): 9, 12–25. There was much pressure exerted on churches in Jerusalem and Antioch to conform to Judean practices. The ultimate goal was to uphold the "limits of Table-Fellowship in the Judaism of the Late Second Temple Period." In this case they were trying to enforce specific laws such as those governing foods (Lev 11:1–23; Deut 14:3–21) and oral traditions dealing with the *Halakhoth*. Bruce, *Galatians*, 132, rightly translates πρὸς "toward."

[32] Pol. *Hist.* 3.31.7 (trans. Paton, LCL).

[33] Kohlenberger III, et al., "ὀρθοποδέω," *ECGNT*, 3974. This is a hapaxlegomenon. Betz insists that the difficulty of the expression οὐκ ὀρθοποδοῦσιν πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν

rightly toward the truth of the gospel" (Gal 2:14). Instead, he ἀναγκάζει, "compels" non-Judeans Christians ἰουδαΐζειν, "to become Judeans,"[34] which, to Paul, is equivalent to propagating another gospel. As a result, he warns that his letter has divine power to enact a curse on anyone who dares to violate the truth of the gospel.[35]

Paul is convinced that two competing traditions arose in the preaching of the gospel. The first is directly mediated by God through Jesus Christ—the true gospel the Galatians received by faith (is Pauline). The other is simply another gospel and to accept it would result in a curse, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω (Gal 1:9). Given the textual evidence, the latter gospel is the one his opponents were propagating. Strikingly, Anatolian *defixiones* (curse tablets) or Diola *ewt* served a similar function. Some Anatolian confession inscriptions which record the powers of the gods being written down for public display used the term προγράφη (see *BWK*,

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τοῦ εὐαγγελίου lies in the term ὀρθοποδέω (*Galatians*, 111). I am not sure if that is the case because the expression "to walk upright" could be a metaphor expressing behavior that echoes the Hebraic ethics. Contextually, to walk in line with the "truth of the gospel" means eating with non-Judeans, an act some of Paul's fellow Judeans would consider to be a violation of food laws and therefore customs (Daniel Sinclair, "Halakhah," *ODJR*, 293–4). Joseph O. Holloway, *ΠΕΡΙΠΑΤΕΩ as a Thematic Marker for Pauline Ethics* (San Francisco: Mellen Research University Press, 1992), 27, 1–27, 94–106, offers an insightful discussion of the expression περιπατέω tracing its use in the Hebrew Bible, the Septuagint, Qumranian, Pseudepigraphic, Hellenistic and Pauline texts. A careful analysis of the term led to his conclusion that Paul uses περιπατέω as an ethical metaphor, whereas other Biblical writers use πορεύομαι instead to underscore ecstatic experiences. Paul's word choice is therefore influenced by his conviction that "the Christian life is not of the nature of an ecstatic heavenly ascent of the soul or has not yet reached the stage of its final ascension."

[34] The word ἀναγκάζω recalls the Maccabean resistence to Hellenization. The authors of 2 Macc 6:1 and 4 Macc 5:2, 27 use ἀναγκάζω to highlight the fact that Judeans were compelled to abandon or violate their food laws. This is corroborated by Josephus (*J.W.* 1.34) who says that Antiochus…ἠνάγκαζεν Ἰουδαίους καταλύσαντας τὰ πάτρια βρέφη τε αὐτῶν φυλάττειν ἀπερίτμητα καὶ σῦς ἐπιθύειν τῷ βωμῷ …"compelled the Judeans to abandon the laws of their country, and to keep their infants uncircumcised, and to sacrifice swine's flesh upon the altar…" (See Rengstorf, "ἀναγκάζω, ἀνάγκη," *CCFJ*, 1.83, 86). Like the verb form, the noun ἀνάγκη means "compelling force, affliction, oppression, …torment, torture" or "coercion." As is evident in 2 Macc 7, Judeans were being compelled to Hellenize or be martyred. Commenting on Gal 2:11–14, S. A. Cummins, *Paul and the Crucified Christ in Antioch: Maccabean Martyrdom and Galatians 1 and 2* (SNTSMS 114; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 161, argues that Paul "stands in ironic relation to the Maccabean tradition as he now responds to Peter's movement in the direction of a rigorous Judaism by faithfully defending the truth of the gospel, namely, the outworking of God's grace in the martyred and exalted Jesus, Messiah and Son of God, and in the eschatological people of God together conformed to him." Paul, he argues, acts like Daniel except that Paul is now defending the way of Christ rather than Judaism (ibid., 162). In addition to food laws, Judeans avoid association with uncircumcised non-Judeans.

[35] Betz, *Galatians*, 321.

15.8 and 59.24), Paul regards his epistle in the same way—something Galatians would have readily understood.

In fact, neither circumcision nor food laws are necessary for Judeans or non-Judeans.[36] The unresolved conflict in Antioch over table fellowship happened in Galatia (Gal 2:11–14) and haunted Pauline ministries among Gentiles afterwards (Acts 15; Rom 15:20; Phil 3:2). As far as Paul was concerned, table-fellowship between Judeans and other people symbolizes the kind of community created by revelatory faith in Jesus Christ.[37] Faith gave them a new identity, freed and transformed them from being savage beasts and adherents of the imperial cultus, to Christ-followers and Children of God (Gal 3:26–29). They received this life-changing religious experience through τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τὸ εὐαγγελισθὲν, "the good news announced" by Paul (Gal 1:11).

The Locus and Nature of a Freeing Mission: Galatians 3:26–29

> [26] for in Christ Jesus you are all children of God through faith. [27]As many of you were baptized into Christ have clothed yourselves with Christ. [28]There is no longer Judean or Greek, there is no longer slave or free, there is no longer male and female; for all of you are one in Christ Jesus. [29]And if you belong to Christ, then you are Abraham's seed, heirs according to the promise.

Betz places Gal 2:11–14 in the context of 1:11–2:21 and 3:26–29 in that of 3:1–4:31,[38] while recognizing Gal 6:11–18 as the hermeneutical crux of Paul's thought.[39] Aware of the linguistic significance of

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[36] Daniel Boyarin, *A Radical Jew: Paul and the Politics of Identity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 111. Gal 2:15–21. Paul uses the word φύσει (nature or "natural endowment," see "φύσις," BDAG, 1069–70) to refute ethnocentric arguments that pervaded Judean self-definition. Most commentators consulted highlighted Judean ethnocentric binarism that reduced humanity into Judeans and non-Judean (Betz, *Galatians*, 11; Dunn, *Galatians*, 132–33; Martyn, *Galatians*, 248–9; Longenecker, *Galatians*, 83; Bruce, *Galatians*, 136–7) but all failed to see how Plato uses φύσει (nature) to divide humanity into Greek and barbarian (see Plato, *Menex*. 245d). Plato's point is that Greeks were the only pure ethnic. I return to this passage in the next chapter.

[37] Betz, *Galatians*, 112. Against Betz, to think that Paul argues for a "total emancipation from Judaism" would be overstating things. Rather, Paul was a Judean proud of his heritage (Rom 9:1–5; Phil 3:3–6).

[38] Betz, "Literary Composition," 18–24; idem, *Galatians*, 19–22, 181.

[39] Betz, *Galatians*, 313–319, especially, page 313. Crucial to Betz' s observation is Paul's rhetoric enshrined in the following statements ὑπὸ τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου ἤμεθα δεδουλωμένοι "we were enslaved by the elemental spirits of the world" (Gal 4:3), ἐσταύρωται κἀγὼ κόσμῳ, "I have been crucified to the world" (Gal 6:14) and οὔτε

Gal 3:28, Wayne Meeks adduces that it has the "power to assist in shaping the symbolic universe by which" Anatolian Christians would be distinguished "from the ordinary 'world' of the larger society. A modern philosopher might call it a 'performative utterance.'"[40] Galatians 3:28 is the sociopostcolonial hermeneutical microcosm of the entire epistle. Betz says the expression "'neither male nor female' is most likely a variation of the well-known Hellenistic political slogan 'Greek barbarians.'"[41] This slogan powerfully "promises or proclaims the unity of mankind through the abolition of the cultural barriers separating Greeks and non-Greeks," and the Judeans adopted it, "correctly assuming that they themselves belong to the barbarians."[42]

Striking formulaic pairs of opposites variably parallel to Gal 2:26–28 (οὐδὲ…οὐκ ἔνι) are found in 1 Cor 12:13 (εἴτε…εἴτε) and Col 3:10–11 (οὐκ ἔνι),[43] and reading Gal 3:26–29 as a declaration of "the nonexistence of these opposites" and "end of the cosmos"[44] generated concerns in scholarly circles.[45] At stake is how one should understand the Gala-

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γὰρ περιτομή τί ἐστιν οὔτε ἀκροβυστία ἀλλὰ καινὴ κτίσις "for neither circumcision nor uncircumcision is anything but a new creation" (Gal 6:15).

[40] Wayne A. Meeks, *In Search of the Early Christians* (ed. Allen R. Hilton and H. Gregory Snyder; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 12. Betz quotes and elaborates on Meeks' assertion insisting that "there can be no doubt that Paul's statements have social and political implications of even a revolutionary dimension…These ideals include the abolition of the religious and social distinctions between Jews and Greeks, slaves and freemen, men and women. These social changes are claimed as part of redemption and as the result of the ecstatic experiences which the Galatians as well as other Christians have had. Being rescued from the present evil aeon (Gal 1:4) and being changed to a 'new creation' implies these radical social and political changes." The expression 'neither Jew nor Greek,' declares that in the Christian church the religious, cultural, and social distinctions between Jew and Greek are abolished" (Betz, *Galatians*, 190). Against Betz, in Gal 3:28 Paul is emphasizing equality between male and female before God. This applies to other identities as well [See Philip F. Esler, *Conflict and Identity in Romans: The Social Setting of Paul's Letter* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2003), 10–13. See also Robin Scroggs, "Paul and the Eschatological Woman," *JAAR* 40/3(Sept. 1972): 283–303]. Pseudo-Philo regarded women's leadership as crucial (Murphy, *Pseudo-Philo*, 258–9).

[41] Betz, *Galatians*, 191. Rare in Biblical interpretation is the general consensus reached by key Pauline scholars who regard Gal 3:26–29 as a baptismal formula. See Ernest de Witt Burton, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians* (ICC; Edinburgh: T & T Clark Ltd., 1980), 203–10; Betz, *Galatians*, 181–201; Dunn, *Galatians*, 200–8; Bruce, *Galatians*, 183–91; Martyn, *Galatians*, 374–83; Lührmann, *Galatians*, 74–8.

[42] Betz, *Galatians*, 192.

[43] Michel Bouttier, "Complexio Oppositorum: Sur les formules de 1 Cor xii.13; Gal iii.26–28; Col III. 10, 11," *NTS* 23(1976): 1–11.

[44] Martyn, *Galatians*, 376.

[45] Scroggs, "Eschatological Woman," 283–303, argues that "Paul knows that gender distinctions will remain but views all believers, in the eschatological community," as

tian pairs of opposites: Ἰουδαῖος/Ἕλλην, δοῦλος/ἐλεύθερος, ἄρσεν / θῆλυ "Judean/Greek, slave/free, male/female".[46] A closer look at these parallels shows that the Gal 3:28 pair of opposites, Ἰουδαῖος/Ἕλλην, are repeated in 1 Cor 12:13 but reversed in Col 3:11 as Ἕλλην καὶ Ἰουδαῖος, giving rise to unresolved debates over how they should be understood.[47]

The belief in male superiority to female was a widespread phenomenon in the ancient world. An example of this is found in Diogenes Laertius' inference from Hermippus' *Lives* where Socrates' followers reported to have heard him express thanks for three things: πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι ἄνθρωπος ἐγενόμην καὶ οὐ θηρίον, εἶτα ὅτι ἀνὴρ καὶ οὐ γυνή, τρίτον ὅτι Ἕλλην καὶ οὐ βάρβαρος,[48] "first, that I was born a human and not a beast; next, that I was born a man and not a woman; third, a Greek and not a barbarian." Similarly, *The Tosefta, Berakhot*, 6.18 has

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equals before God. In other words, Paul is not a chauvinist. In response to this reading, Elaine H. Pagels, "Paul and Women: A Response to Recent Discussion," *JAAR* 42/3(1974): 538–49, disagrees, charging that Paul contradicts himself by going against the same liberty he proclaimed when his converts actualized it.

[46] The variants from other parallels are also evident. Compare εἴτε Ἰουδαῖοι εἴτε Ἕλληνες εἴτε δοῦλοι εἴτε ἐλεύθεροι "Judeans or Greeks, slaves or free" (1 Cor 12:13), with ὅπου οὐκ ἔνι Ἕλλην καὶ Ἰουδαῖος, περιτομὴ καὶ ἀκροβυστία, βάρβαρος, Σκύθης, δοῦλος, ἐλεύθερος "is no longer Greek and Jew, circumcised and uncircumcised, barbarian, Scythian, slave and free" (Col 3:11). Troy W. Martin, "Scythian Perspective in Col 3:11," *NT* 37/3 (July 1995): 250, argues that "racially, barbarians refers to the black race; Scythian to the white race." The pair of opposites, Barbarian and Scythian, recorded in Col 3:11 are "mutually exclusive categories" (ibid., 253). Cynics, he insists, trace their origin back to Scythians who regard non-Scythians as barbarians, even the Greeks. This binarism, Martin insists, is behind the Col 3:11 challenge that affirms that "Christ obliterates the barbarian/Scythian pair of divisive cultural categories" and other related pairs (Martin, "Scythian," 256). Douglas A. Campbell, "The Scythian Perspective in Col 3:11: A Response to Troy Martin," *NT* 39/1(January 1997): 81–4, thinks Martin's reading is incorrect. By Campbell's estimation, barbarian is mutually linked to Scythian. The wandering Cynic's critique was leveled against Greek corruption. "Hence, the Scythian was an ideal antitype because of his very barbarity: the Scythians' lack of civilization was what made them morally superior in the eyes of the Cynic…if 'Scythian' were to oppose 'barbarian,' the Cynic force of the slogan would be lost" (Campbell, "The Scythian Perspective," 83). I concur with Campbell against Martin.

[47] Bouttier, "Complexio Oppositorum," 1–19, meticulously delved into the possible traditions that shaped this baptismal formula.

[48] Diogenes, *Lives*, 1.33c. M. Eugene Boring, Klaus Berger and Carsten Colpe, eds., *Hellenistic Commentary to the New Testament* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1995), 467, think Plato's *Symp.* 189 d–e, is dealing with a mythological unity and equality between male and female as being a future eschatological phenomenon, whereas in Gal 3:28, "Colossians 2 and Ephesians 2 it is not the case that the unity is first attained at the eschaton, but is already present, charismatically caused." See also Meeks, *In Search*, 3–11.

A. R. Judah prescribing men to recite praises to the lord for having been made not "a gentile," "a boor," and "a woman."[49]

Ps-Aristotle thinks "nature actually has a liking for opposites; perhaps it is from them that she creates harmony, and not from similar things, in just the same way τὸ ἄρρεν συνήγαγε πρὸς τὸ θῆλυ 'she has joined the male to the female.'"[50] The Epicureans appeared to have been the only ones in antiquity to have exercised the equality between the sexes—an ideal proclaimed in the ancient world but hardly practiced.[51] Against this background, Paul radically declares to his Gaul/Galatian converts that it is διὰ τῆς πίστεως ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, "through faith in Christ Jesus" that all of them have become children of God (Gal 3:26). They have a new and unmediated status before God through their baptism and

> are entirely encompassed by the reality of Christ; this is precisely what is meant by "being in Christ." Galatians 3:28 describes baptism in regard to salvation history and its socio-political effects: "there is no longer Jew

[49] To bolster his hermeneutics, A. R. Judah appeals to Isa 40:17 LXX (πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ὡς οὐδέν εἰσι καὶ εἰς οὐθὲν ἐλογίσθησαν; compare with Isa 40:17 MT כָּל־הַגּוֹיִם כְּאַיִן נֶגְדּוֹ מֵאֶפֶס וְתֹהוּ נֶחְשְׁבוּ־לוֹ) insisting that "a gentile," namely "all other peoples, are nothing." A "woman" is not obliged to exercise the commandments, and the "'boor' does not fear sin." For negative views on women, see Sir. 25:15–26; *t. Šabb.* 33, 152; *T. Reu. 5.* The fact that other Rabbinic sources view women positively is indicative of ongoing debates over the social role and status of women. For positive views on women, see *t. Sotah* 11, 22; *t. Qidd.* 31; *t. Nid.* 45; *t. Meg.* 14; *t. Git.* 6. See also Household codes in Eph 5:21–6:9; Col 3:18–4:1; I Peter 2:1–3:1; I Tim 2:7–15; 5:1–25; Titus. See a crucial discussion of these household codes in David L. Balch, *Let Wives Be Submissive: The Domestic Code in I Peter* (SBL Monograph Series, 26; Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1981); Antoinette Clark Wire, *Corinthian Women Prophets: A Reconstruction Through Paul's Rhetoric* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1990) and Murphy, *Pseudo-Philo*, 258–9.

[50] Ps-Aristotle, *Cosmos*, 392a28–396b9, especially 396b5. See Martyn's discussion of Aristotle, *Metaph*, 986 (Martyn, *Galatians*, 41) and Dale Martin, *The Corinthian Body* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 16–37.

[51] Diogenes, *Lives*, 10:18–21. Meeks, *In Search*, 8–11, surveys philosophical schools, associations, and Hellenistic cults and concluded that they advocated the belief in equality between the sexes but failed to actualize such a conviction. The same can be said of Hellenized Judean writers like Philo (Philo, *Opif*, 151). For further discussion on the topic, see Meeks, *In Search*, 3–54. Although Meeks finds in Gen 1:27 a primeval androgyny, he thinks "the third pair of Galatians 3:28 has no connection with the immediate context nor with any of Paul's themes in Galatians." Yet he concedes that "only the first pair, Jew/Greek, is directly relevant to Paul's argument" (Meeks, *In Search*, 11–12). See Troy W. Martin, "The Covenant of Circumcision (Genesis 17:9–14) and the Situational Antitheses in Galatians 3:28," *JBL* 122/1(Spring 2003): 111–125, for more details. J. Albert Harrill, "Coming of Age Putting on Christ: The *Toga Virilis* Ceremony, Its Paraenesis, and Paul's Interpretation of Baptism in Galatians," *NT* XLIV/3(2002): 253, finds a parallel between Gal 3:28 and Graeco-Roman initiation rites of passage to adulthood.

> or Greek, there is no longer slave or free, there is no longer male or female; for all of you are one in Christ Jesus." The change of status granted in baptism includes a real transformation of social relationships. The first pair of contrasts is directed against the distinctions that divide all humanity into two classes: for Jews, the Jew/Gentile distinction; and for Greeks, the Greek/barbarian distinction.[52]

Paul's statement regarding the irrelevance of pairs of opposites would have resonated among both Judeans and Greeks who were still enslaved by the στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου "the elemental spirits of the world" (Gal 4:3, 9). Paul insists all Gauls/Galatians are εἷς (one) in Christ and children of God because they ἐνεδύσασθε, "clothed themselves," with Christ (Gal 3:27; 1 Cor 12:13).[53] This daring baptismal rite counters and subverts ancient dichotomies exercised by humanity.

Udo Schnelle rightly posits that

> although the Old Testament laws concerning slavery can be considered relatively humane and, according to the sophists, the distinction between δοῦλος and ἐλεύθερος is set by human culture instead of being a difference made by nature, this contrasting pair functioned among both Jews and Greeks. The third pair of contrasts, ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ (male and female; cf. Gen 1:27 LXX), likewise had fundamental significance for both Jews and Greeks because, in Jewish understanding, women were not fully capable of participating in the cult and Greek thought tended to follow the line emphasizing the superiority of men to women.[54]

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[52] Schnelle, *Paul*, 291. Elaine Pagels, *The Gnostic Paul: Gnostic Exegesis of the Pauline Letters* (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 1975), 108, reads Paul's statement in Gal 3:26–28 through Gnostic lenses concluding that those who put on Christ and still identify themselves racially and socially "are not yet truly Christian." Whether the Gnostics practiced these convictions is debated. According to Meeks, they failed to actualize the equality of the sexes (Meeks, *In Search*, 15–18). For key Gnostic texts, see *EP.* 110.2–6; 108.1–6, 123.21–25; *Exc.* 46.1–49.2; 76.2–4.

[53] For Paul's view on Christian baptismal unity, see Anthony C. Thiselton, *First Epistle to the Corinthians* (NIGTC; ed. I. Howard Marshall and Donald A. Hagner; Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2000), 995–1026.

[54] Schnelle, *Paul*, 291. In a close re-reading of laws recorded in Exodus through Deuteronomy, John van Seters, *A Law Book for the Diaspora: Revisions in the Study of the Covenant Code* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 84, notes that the Levitical Code agrees with Deuteronomy on provisions made for any indentured Israelite servants (compare Lev 25:39–46 with Deut 15:1–11). They are not to be sold as slaves but treated humanely. The Holiness Code however limits this principle to Israelites by further considering alien indentured servants as property to be "treated as slaves, that is harshly." For Plutarch, *Mor.* 112–13, mourning is a weak act done only by women and "barbarians." Curiously, Plutarch excludes Celts and Gauls/Galatians from barbarians, as manly and noble. See Boring, et als., *Hellenistic Commentary*, 466–71, for concise comments on ancient parallel texts to Gal 3:27–28.

M. Eugene Boring's translation of *Überwindung* to mean "conquest" offers a powerful imagery of what happens at baptism. Freedom in Christ through baptism is a "conquest" that decolonizes or subverts, through the guidance of the Holy Spirit, "the ancient fundamental alternatives," by shaping new community members into a "communion with Christ that not only opens *eine neue Wirklichkeit* of reality but indeed creates a new reality that equally includes the cognitive, emotional, and pragmatic dimensions of human existence."[55] This way of picturing the new existence/creation in Christ is, I believe, Paul's Christocentric sociopostcolonial hermeneutics orchestrated by the God who frees[56] through the apocalyptic event of the cross of Christ (Gal 3:1–5).[57] The baptismal ritual of putting on Jesus Christ (Gal 3:1, 10–13; 26–29) is central to Paul's identity and community formation.

Community and Identity Formation in Galatian and Diola Communities

With Berger and Thomas Luckmann, I agree that humans are continuously engaged in creating a world where meaning and order can be experienced.[58] Although the conflict in Antioch was over table fellowship, a consensus has yet to be reached over the identity of those to whom Paul directs his ire. Paul clearly refers to some as τινας ἀπὸ Ἰακώβου (Gal 2:12) and others the ψευδαδέλφοι (Gal 2:4).[59] Whoever

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[55] Schnelle, *Paulus*, 318 = *Paul*, 292 (trans. Boring). My emphasis.

[56] The freedom and justice Paul advocates is not synergistic. Laato, *Paul and Judaism*; Eskola, "Paul, Predestination," 390–412. Talbert, "Paul, Judaism," 1–22.

[57] J. Louis Martyn, *Theological Issues in the Letters of Paul* (Nashville, TN:Abingdon Press, 1997), 111–23; idem, "Galatians," 41. Paul reinterprets the Mosaic traditions and adapts them to the new creation of God as far as the new community of God in Galatia is concerned (Gal 3:16–28; 6:14–16). Members of the new community live by the spirit and the law of Christ which is ἀγάπη (See Schnelle, *Paul*, 293–5).

[58] Berger and Luckmann, *The Social Construction*, 1–46–92–128; Berger, *The Sacred Canopy*, 3–28. See also Geertz, "Ethos," 126–69.

[59] References to Paul's opponents range from "Jewish-Christian missionaries" (Betz, *Galatians*, 7), "*Christian-Jewish missionaries*" (Dunn, *Galatians*, 11), or "'Teachers'/'Christian-Jewish Evangelists'" (Martyn, *Galatians*, 18). Mark D. Nanos, "The Inter- and Intra-Jewish Political Context of Paul's Letter to the Galatians," in *The Galatians Debate* (ed. Mark D. Nanos; Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 2002), 400–7, argues that they should not be called "opponents," "outsiders," or "missionaries" associated with the Jerusalem church. Rather, they were "influencers" and proselytes. The debate between Paul and the influencers was over Christ rather than the Torah. The influencers were persuading Paul's converts to be circumcised; otherwise, they will not be full covenant members (idem, *Irony*, 75–85; 203–7). Against Nanos, Paul's opponents were Jewish Christians (based on Gal 1:11–2:21).

they were, it is clear from Paul's argument that they disagreed with Paul on whether Gentile and Judean Christians should observe laws governing circumcision and foods (Gal 2:15–21; 3:2–22; 4:1–14; 20–31; Acts 15:1–2).

Judean Identity Formation and non-Judean Inclusion

Evidence from Graeco-Roman sources shows that the Judean aversion to eating pork was an issue they took seriously. For instance, Tacitus says Judeans "abstain from pork in memory of the disaster of the leprosy which had once defiled them, a disease to which that animal is subject."[60] Plutarch somewhat confirms this belief speculating that eating pork leads to leprosy,[61] but Epictetus thinks eating pork is a debated issue among Greeks also, and it comes down to "whether the particular act of eating swine's flesh is holy or unholy."[62] Judean sources offer insightful clues on pork consumption. Josephus grudgingly says Apion, ἐγκαλεῖ γὰρ ὅτι ζῷα θύομεν καὶ χοῖρον οὐκ ἐσθίομεν καὶ τὴν τῶν αἰδοίων χλευάζει περιτομήν,[63] "accuses us of sacrificing animals, and of abstaining from eating pork, and mocks at our reverence for circumcision." Sanders understands the problem over Judean and non-Judean associations as having to do with idolatry and eating pork.[64]

As Balch observes, Judeans' incorporations of non-Judeans includes both flexibility as well as stricture. Whereas John Hyrcanus ἐπέτρεψεν

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[60] Tacitus, *Hist.* 5.4.2–3. Tacitus also complains that Judeans hate people other than themselves and eat separately from everyone else (ibid., 5.1–2). For crucial information on various topics on Jew and Gentile relations in the Graeco-Roman world, see Louis Feldman and Meyer Reinhold, eds., *Jewish Life and Thought Among Greeks and Romans: Primary Readings* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1996).

[61] Plutarch, *Festal Questions*, 4.4–5.3. In addition to leprosy, he also thinks Judeans abstain from eating pork simply because they honor pigs for having shown them how to cultivate.

[62] Epictetus, *Diatr.* 1.22.4c; ibid., 1.11.12–13, hints that the act of eating pork was debated but he remains neutral on the issue. See also Petronius, *Satyr. Frag.* 37; Strabo, *Geogr.* 16.2.37; Juvenal, *Sat.* 6.160.

[63] Josephus, *C. Ap.* 2.137b. My translation. For relevant texts, see 2 Macc 7:1; 4 Macc 5:2, 6; 6:15.

[64] E. P. Sanders, "Jewish Association with Gentiles and Gal 2:11–14," *The Conversation Continues: Studies in John and Paul in Honor of J. Louis Martyn* (ed. Robert T. Fortna and Beverly R. Gaventa; Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1990), 185. Sanders is on to something with his observation. Galatians ate pork in their banquets which is, to Judeans, unclean. Richard B. Hays, "The Letter to the Galatians: Introduction, Commentary, and Reflections," *NIB*, XI.232–3. Athenaeus, *Deipn.* 4.150f, tells us that the meats served at Ariamnes' banquet were from ταύρων καὶ συῶν καὶ προβάτοων…"bulls, hogs and sheep…"

(allowed) the Idumeans to dwell in the land in so far as they convert properly to Judaism, Aristobolus ἀναγκάσας (compelled) Ituraeans to convert to Judaism.[65] Josephus told Apion that Judeans had no desire to mix with non-Judeans; rather, they focused on educating their children, φυλάττειν τοὺς νόμους…εὐσέβειαν ἔργον,[66] "to keep the laws…and rules of piety."

This appears to be the kind of legitimation of one's symbolic world that can lead to isolation, exclusion of others, and pride in one's ethnic distinctiveness. Louis Feldman maintains that Judean proselytism/conversion did in fact occur among diaspora Judeans in great numbers and was a lively missionary activity from Talmudic time and well beyond the rise of Christianity.[67] Martin Goodman and John M. Barclay challenge Feldman's conclusion, by dating active Judean proselytism to the Christian era and as a response to the rise of Christianity.[68] Judean identity was a direct result of Roman interest in defining a practicing Judean for tax purposes after 96 A.D.[69] Although Goodman's point is well taken, Judean and non-Judean sources provide some evidence of the conversion of non-Judeans to Judaism well before the rise of Christianity.

In spite of the meager evidence of Judean proselytism before the rise of Christianity, one cannot deny that it happened,[70] a fact Goodman

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[65] Josephus, *Ant.* 13.257–8. John Hyrcanus ἐπέτρεψεν (allowed) the Idumeans to remain in the land…εἰ περιτέμνοιντο τὰ αἰδοῖα καὶ τοῖς Ἰουδαίων νόμοις χρήσασθαι θέλοιεν "if they would submit to circumcision, and make use of the laws of the Judeans." Although the word ἀναγκάζω "to compel" does not occur in this passage, it is implicit. Aristobolus, like Peter, ἀναγκάσας compelled the Ituraeans (Josephus, *Ant.* 13.318–19; compare with Gal 2:14). Strabo simply says the Idumeans shared the custom of the Judeans (Strabo, *Geogr.* 16.2.34).

[66] Josephus, *C. Ap.* 1.60. See also Philo, *Leg.* 293.

[67] Louis H. Feldman, *Jews and Gentiles in the Ancient World: Attitudes and Interactions from Alexander to Justinian* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993), 288–382; he is also aware of ongoing Rabbinic debates on Jewish proselytism of Gentiles or conversion. For further discussions on Judean and Gentile relations, see Mendels, *Identity*, 13–34; 394–451.

[68] Martin Goodman, *Mission and Conversion: Proselytizing in the Religious History of the Roman Empire* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 32, 105. John M. G. Barclay, *Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora: From Alexander to Trajan (323 BCE–117 CE)* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1996), 205–16; 298–300; 314–18; 403–4; 408–10. Barclay in fact builds on Goodman's conclusions.

[69] Martin Goodman, "fiscus Judaicus," *JRS* 79(1989): 40–44. I agree with Goodman on locating Jewish proselytizing of Gentiles during the Christian era as well as his insistence that, even then, it was not a full blown phenomenon.

[70] Balch, "Attitudes," 46–47. Josephus reminds us that king Izates learned about Judaism when Ananias, a Jew, taught his wives to worship God according to Jewish

does not dismiss entirely. Ananias and Eleazar exemplify the competing views on the inclusion of non-Judeans. Whereas the former is flexible, the latter believes circumcision is imperative—a concern for Judean identity against colonial rule that often translates into rigid adherence to the Torah.[71] From the convincing argument of Goodman and Barclay, it is conceivable that Peter, James, and John were more flexible toward the inclusion of non-Judeans than the "false believers." The way Eleazar and the ψευδάδελφοι read scripture is inextricably linked to their mode of identity and community construction that required a rigid adherence to the *halakoth*.[72]

A Pauline Community and Identity Formation

Christian Strecker describes Paul and his theology as liminal—a divinely legitimized identity.[73] This characterization values the Apostle's socio-religious experiences of Second Temple Judaism and Graeco-Roman

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tradition. The expression ἐδίδασκεν αὐτὰς τὸν θεὸν σέβειν "taught them to fear God" indicates that they were not full proselytes as was common in the Graeco-Roman world. However, when the king realizes that his mother admires the Jewish religion, he decided μεταθέσθαι "to change," probably through circumcision, and became a full Jew (Josephus, *Ant.* 20.34, 38). Even though this kind of interaction exists, Judeans also separated themselves to avoid being polluted by aliens in order that they might observe their religious laws rigorously (Josephus, *J.W.* 2.488). How Judeans were viewed before, during and after the rise of Christianity in the Mediterranean world is mixed with disdain as well as admiration [see also Carolyn Osiek, "Romans 'Down the Pike': Glimpses from Later Years," in *Celebrating Romans: Template for Pauline Theology* (ed. Sheila E. McGinn; Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2004), 149–61]. For an understanding of the dynamics and persistence of attitudes towards the law and Judean practices throughout the centuries from before and beyond the Christian era, see also Dunn, ed., *Paul and the Mosaic Law* and the writings of Judean and non-Judean authors. Petronius (*frag.*, 37) says that some Gentiles sympathize with Jewish monotheism by abstaining either from eating pork or undergoing circumcision (Juvenal, *Sat.* 14.96–106), and Epictetus makes the same distinction (*Diatr.* 2.9.19–21). That some Gentiles observe dietary laws without becoming Judeans while others become Judeans through circumcision is attested by Philo (*QE.* 2.2) and Josephus (*Ant.* 14.110).

[71] Josephus, *Ant.* 20.34–48; 2.60; Acts 26:5. Eleazar is described by Josephus as being ἀκριβὴς "exact" or "strict" (see *LSJM*, 55). Josephus takes it for granted that all male Judeans were circumcised. Barclay, *Jews*, 181–191, offers an insightful discussion of diaspora appeal to textual Jewish traditions to resist imperial pressures that threatened their Jewish identity. For helpful contributions, see Paul Jewett, "The Agitators and the Galatian Congregation," *NTS* 17(1970–71): 198–212.

[72] See Asano, *Community-Identity*, 119–22.

[73] Christian Strecker, *Die liminale Theologie des Paulus: Zugänge zur paulinischen Theologie aus Kulturanthropologischen Perspektive* (FRLANT, 185; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999), 111, writes "Paulus erscheint so als göttlich legitimierte Schwellenperson" (Paul appears thus as a heavenly legitimized liminal person).

imperial rule. I have noted in the introduction the rise of Christianity and its subsequent transitions from Judaism into a separate group. This transition is facilitated by crucial rites that deeply influenced and shaped Christian self-definition in relation to its Judean roots and Graeco-Roman worlds.[74] Self-definition, according to Arnold van Gennep, is a social process that begins respectively with "the rites of separation from a previous world, *preliminal rites*, those executed during the transitional stage, *liminal* (*or threshold*) *rites*, and the ceremonies of incorporation into a new world, *post-liminal rites*."[75]

In each of these three stages, adherents introduce rituals or rites of passage that would affect and effect the process of self-definition to ensure its identity away from its traditional roots.[76] As some scholars note, this is in essence a construction of a marginal identity.[77] This process is certainly evident in Galatians. Centuries-old traditions (of observance of circumcision and food laws) τοὺς ἐκ περιτομῆς that "those of the circumcision" read, preach, and enforce,[78] Paul reinterprets and

[74] Wayne A. Meeks, *The First Urban Christians: The Social World of the Apostle Paul* (New Haven, Conn: Yale University Press, 1983), 140–63; Theissen, *Social Reality*, 202–87; idem, *The Religion of the Earliest Churches: Creating a Symbolic World* (trans. John Bowden; Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1999), 2–6.

[75] Arnold van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage: Systematic Study of Rites in Earliest Churches* (Chicago, IL: Chicago University Press, 1960), 21. The process begins with a "preliminal," stage followed by a "liminal" stage which often ends in postliminality. Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (New York: Routledge, 1966), 97, explains that rituals are means by which the adherent dies "to their old life and are reborn to the new." Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (Chicago, IL: Aldine Publishing Co., 1969), 94–165.

[76] Theissen, *Social Reality*, 206–227. This self-definition is a mode of identity and community formation: Esler, *Community and Gospel*, 16–21; Watson, *Paul, Judaism*, 19–22; MacDonald, *The Pauline Churches*, 11–45.

[77] Robert E. Park, "Human Migration and the Marginal Man," *AJS* 33(1928): 881–93, says that marginal people live ambivalently as aliens between two different worlds. Marginality, I would argue, is a complex phenomenon that should not be reduced to a mere life of ambivalence between two worlds.

[78] Gen 17:10–27; Lev 11–15; Ezra 10:3; 1 Macc 1:62–63; 2 Macc 2:21; 4:13; 7:1, 36–37; 8:1; *Let. Aris.* 139–142; *Jub.* 22:16; *Jdt*, 10:5; 12:2, 17–19; Tob, 1:10–11; *Est*, 4:17 LXX. Israel Finkelstein, "Ethnicity and Origin of the Iron I Settlers in the Highland of Canaan: Can the Real-Israel Stand Up," *Biblical Archaeologist* 59(1996): 206; Israel Finkelstein and Neil Asher Silberman, *The Bible Unearthed: Archaeology's New Vision of Ancient Israel and the Origin of its Sacred Texts* (New York: The Free Press, 2001), 119–20, argue that prior to Judaism, archaeological evidence in Iron I settlements shows that the ethnic identity of those who came to be called Israelites rests on dietary remains, namely on the absence of pig bones. In other words, a settlement is sure to have been Israelite when it yields only goat and sheep bone remains. William G. Dever, "Ceramics, Ethnicity, and the Question of Israel's Origins," *Biblical Archaeologist* 58(1995): 204, 200–13, disagrees by arguing that pottery is the sure source for retrieving ethnic identity

drops.[79] He insists that Jesus Christ in whom God εὐδόκησεν…ἀποκαλύψαι "was pleased…to reveal" in him (Gal 1:16) was born "of a woman and under the law" (Gal 4:4), προεγράφη ἐσταυρωμένος, "publically displayed as crucified,"[80] is the same one who ἡμᾶς ἐξηγόρασεν ἐκ τῆς κατάρας τοῦ νόμου γενόμενος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν κατάρα, "redeemed us from the curse of the law having become a curse for us."[81] Paul uses ἐξαγοράζω in Gal 3:13; 4:5 to emphasize the redeeming and liberating work of Jesus Christ.[82]

What Paul means by the word προεγράφη is much debated. Lexically the word means "I write in advance or before" or "I set forth for public notice, show forth/portray publically, proclaim or placard in public."[83] Basil S. Davis suggests that the word stands for Paul's preaching in word pictures that reflect his own embodiment of Christ, namely "Paul's display of the Crucified Christ."[84] Balch persuasively links προεγράφη

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because it yields peculiar insights into settlement patterns, cultural dynamics, relation and isolation to other social groups, technology, social stratifications, and "shared aesthetic and religious traditions." Against Finkelstein and Dever, Diana Edelman, "Ethnicity and Early Israel" in *Ethnicity and the Bible* (ed. Mark G. Brett; New York: Brill, 1996), 25–55, finds archaeological interpretations of the Merneptah Stele, pottery, architecture, settlement, diet, aniconism, social organizations, and burial practices somewhat helpful but insufficient means to reconstruct a sure Israelite identity. In other words, an attempt to determine Israelite identity through material culture is speculative at best.

[79] Gal 2:11–14; 3:26–29; 4:1–31; 1 Cor 8:1–9:20; 10:25–27; Phil 3:2–10; Rom 10:3.

[80] See "προγράφω," *BDAG*. I will return to this idea in my concluding chapter.

[81] Gal 3:10–13; Deut 23:21. Betz, *Galatians*, 149–151, points to the complex nature of the language. See Watson, *Paul and the Hermeneutics*, 78–126, 503–33. Interestingly, ceremonial laws are not mentioned.

[82] F. Büchsel, "ἀγοράζω, ἐξαγοράζω," *TDNT*, 1.124–28. See also ἐξαγοράζω in Eph 5:16 and Col 4:5; ἀγοράζω in Rev 5:9; 14:3, 4 and λυτρόω in Luke 4:21; Tit 2:14 and 1 Peter 1:18. Dale Martin, *Slavery as Salvation: The Metaphor of Slavery in Pauline Christianity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), 63, insists that "Most scholars have argued that Deissmann's explanation of buy (*agorazein*) to mean redemption from slavery by way of sacral manumission must be rejected. *Priasthai*, not *agorazein*, is the word most commonly used in those contexts. *Agorazein* refers not to the sale of a slave to a god by which the salve is actually freed, but to the ordinary sale of a slave by one owner to another. Therefore, when Christ buys a person, the salvific element of the metaphor is not in the movement from slavery to freedom but in the movement from a lower level of slavery to a high level of slavery (as the slave of Christ)" that Paul uses the metaphor slavery to Jesus Christ to speak of a higher kind of ownership. See also Scott S. Bartschy, *Μᾶλλον Χρῆσαι*: *First-Century Slavery and the Interpretation of 1 Cor 7:21* (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1973), 121–25.

[83] See "προγράφω," *BDAG*.

[84] Basil S. Davis, "The meaning of ΠΡΟΕΓΡΑ'ΦΗ in the context of Galatians 3:1," *NTS* 45(1999): 194–212, especially on page 212. I am not sure how this would have persuaded his audience if all they saw were τὰ στίγματα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, "the marks of Jesus," he bears in his body, as Davis states.

to key icons that enshrined myths known to Gauls/Galatians. These myths are publically displayed in paintings and sculptures telling the stories of the deaths of the priest Laocoon, the Dying Gaul/Galatian, the Suicidal Gaul and his wife—points of connections that would have a vivid effect on how Gauls/Galatians understood the message of the cross.[85] Προγράφη is also used by Anatolian worshipers[86] to express the public nature of their confessions. Gal 2:15–21 introduces the idea of curse. Here Paul argues that salvation happens to the individual through faith in Jesus Christ. He reads Genesis through Deuteronomy in the same way he does Hab 2:4 insisting that it is through faith in God that a person is redeemed.

Israel failed to keep the law and is under its curse—a predicament only God can remove (LXX Deut 21:23; 27:26; 28:58 compare with Gal 3:10–13)—an argument convincingly made by Watson.[87] This decisive divine event rectifies old polarizations generated by the pairs of enslaving opposites (στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου, "elemental spirits of the world"[88]) that marred human relations and the old cosmos rendering them irrelevant in the new creation (Gal 3:26–29; 6:15; 2 Cor 5:17). Those to whom this event happens are metaphorically characterized as τοὺς οἰκείους τῆς πίστεως, "those of the household of faith" (Gal 6:10), καινὴ κτίσις, "a new creation" (Gal 6:15),[89] τὸν Ἰσραὴλ τοῦ θεοῦ, "the Israel of God,"…They are υἱοθεσίαν "adopted children" and future heirs of βασιλείαν θεοῦ, "God's empire/kingdom/reign" (Gal 4:5; 5:21) through faith in Jesus Christ. This new identity in Christ would

[85] Balch, "Paul's Portrait," 84–108.

[86] *BWK*, 15.8. See also *BWK*, 59.24 where the verbal form, προγράφω, is used.

[87] Watson, *Paul*, 415–39; 514–23.

[88] Martyn, *Galatians*, 393–408, considers Paul's language about the "elemental spirits" to be intelligible to the Galatians (Gal 6:14–15; 3:28). In other words, Paul's baptismal formula explains how these pairs of opposites cease to divide people in the new creation initiated by the advent of Jesus Christ (Gal 4:1–5; Gal 3:28). For details on the elements, see Martyn's discussion of Aristotle, *Metaphysics*, 986. Surprisingly, Martyn fails to discuss Ps-Aristotle, *On the Cosmos*, 392a28–396b9—a text probably written during the first century B.C.E.

[89] Whereas there is no scholarly consensus over the meaning of κόσμος and καινὴ κτίσις, apocalyptic writers frequently use the latter to speak of a "'new heavens and new earth' (Isa 65:17; 66:22; *1 Enoch* 91:15; Rev 21:1; 2 Peter 3:13, *Bib Ant*. 3:10), 'renewed creation' (4 *Ezra* 7:75; 2 *Apoc. Bar*. 32:6; 57:2; *Bib. Ant*. 32:17; 16:3), 'renewal' (1QS4:25) and 'new world' (2 *Apoc. Bar*. 44:12)" [Edward Adams, *Construction of the World: A Study in Paul's Cosmological Language* (SNTW; ed. John G. Barclay ed.; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 2000), 226].

inevitably run counter to the *faiths, freedoms, and community* constructions championed by some other Judeans and imperial Roman rulers.[90]

Paul, in effect, is constructing a world through the ongoing task of interpretation of scriptures to legitimize the new symbolic world to which his converts belong.[91] This requires him to interact with his ancestral socioreligious cultural traditions in ongoing conversations and negotiations in order to create a new socioreligious and cultural world for future generations. It is clear that Paul was taken up with those who threatened to dissolve the symbolic communities' order that his law-free gospel was shaping.

Given the above analysis, one can now draw the implications for Galatians. The Good News being preached by Paul creates ἐλευθερία, "freedom," in Galatia apart from παιδαγωγὸς "the tutor" (Gal 3:24) and from τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου "the elemental spirits" (Gal 4:3). The arrival of faith (πίστις) turned Galatians into Christ-followers who are now under the guidance of the Holy Spirit who defines their identity, and ensures their freedom as justified people.[92] In essence,

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[90] The faith and freedom the Judean opponents of Paul promoted is cloaked with what I call the *soteriology of domination* brokered by some commandments embedded in the Law of Moses. For Paul, true faith and freedom belong to the newly created community whose broker is Jesus Christ (Gal 3:1–29). Zeba A. Crook, *Reconceptualising Conversion: Patronage, Loyalty, and Conversion in the Religions of the Ancient Mediterranean* (BZW 130; Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2004), 192–97, provides an insightful discussion on Paul's understanding of the role Jesus Christ in the Graeco-Roman context. I return to this topic in my conclusion.

[91] Philip Esler, *The First Christians in Their Social Worlds: Social-Scientific Approaches to New Testament Interpretation* (New York: Routledge, 1994), 6–18, especially pages 7–12, building on Berger's conclusion, agreeably compares the rise of early Christian communities "with their distinct modes of organization, behaviour and symbolism," to Berger's notion of world construction of a symbolic world. He finds a clear illustration of this in the Matthean (citing Matt 5:20; 18:15–17; 28:16–20; 1 Cor 5:13) and Galatian communities (citing Gal 5:15, 26). For works influenced by Berger's theory, see Adams, *Construction*, 3–11; for more details, see Berger, *Sacred Canopy*, 4–17. See also Alexander J. M. Wedderburn, *Baptism and Resurrection: Studies in Pauline Theology Against its Graeco-Roman Background* (WUMT, 44; Tübingen: Mohr, 1987), 386–87, emphasizes the importance of the baptism formula in shaping the life of the baptized as liminal and countering outside pressures.

[92] Gen 15:6; 18:19, צְדָקָה MT; δίκαιος, δικαιοσύνη LXX compare with Gal 2:21; 3:6, 8, 11, 24; 5:4. The Galatians are justified by an event that turned them into Ἀβραὰμ σπέρμα, "Abraham's children," and κατ' ἐπαγγελίαν κληρονόμοι, "heirs according to the promise" (Gal 3:29). This makes Abraham a socioreligious and sociopolitical figure—the anchor and founding ancestor from whose traditions all identities are negotiated, forged, and legitimated (this is certainly true for the three major world religions: Judaism, Christianity, and Islam).

> Paul's description of Abraham's procreative act of faith mirrors his self-understanding as apostle to the Gentiles. Paul creates Abrahamic descendants not through biological reproduction but through his preaching and teaching. He is a verbal progenitor, struggling to "form" Christ in his gentile "children" (Gal 4:19; 1 Cor 4:14–15).[93]

A Diola Community Formation

There are striking similarities in self-understanding and community and identity construction between the apostle Paul and Aline Sitoé, the Diola prophetess. The French colonial advent created a deep sense of displacement in Diola communities. In response to this bewildering community fragmentation Diola people replaced *Kahat* with *Bukut* (the male ritual) in an attempt to restore Diola identity. This way of providing their shattered communities with a new orientation predates the rise of the prophet Aline Sitoé.

Aline Sitoé, however, was so influential that her followers were convinced that, "'Emitai spoke to her' or 'Emitai sent her.'"[94] She was a mystic who experienced Emitai in such a way that her "communications were ongoing and involved *Emitai's* coming to her as well as her journeying to Emitai" who sent her to "establish the shrine of 'Kasila' and teach its 'charity,'"[95] and show people "la voie du salut selon les enseignements divins."[96] Love is the central concept of the *Kasila* ritual—an innovation that dissolved ethnic distinctions by creating a multiethnic

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[93] Pamela Eisenbrauns, "Paul as the New Abraham," in *Paul and the Politics: Ekklesia, Israel, Imperium, Interpretation. Essays in Honor of Krister Stendahl* (ed. Richard A. Horsley; Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 2000), 144.

[94] Waldman and Baum, "Innovation," 250. Girard, *Genèse,* 226. She spoke of her mission as one being sent by Emitai in response to charges leveled against her by French colonial authorities. Like priest-kings/priests before her, she was considered a political insurrectionist for expressing her traditional Diola convictions (Waldman and Baum, "Innovation," 251).

[95] Waldman and Baum, "Innovation," 250. Divine revelation comes to her through direct oneiric experiences but also mediated through her personal shrine: *Houssahara*. Of these two modes of revelation, one might say that her oneiric experiences can be likened to that of a mystic. The language of journey echoes Paul's language in 2 Cor 12: 2, 4. Some modern scholars understand Paul as a mystic. See Albert Schweitzer, *The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle* (trans. William Montgomery; New York: The Macmillan Company, 1956), 1–25, 376–96; Segal, *Paul the Convert*, 34–71; Marcus J. Borg, *Rereading the Bible Again* (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 2001), 234–7.

[96] Samb, *L' interprétation*, 146. She was showing people "the path to salvation according to divine instructions." My translation.

and religious community under the aegis of *Emitai.*[97] She introduced "a liturgy with prayers addressed directly to God that rendered the traditional monotheism more apparent."[98] In contrast to older spirit-shrines, hers (*Kasila*) was throughly "public and egalitarian."[99]

She created a new community drawing from extant Diola socio-religious traditions. Against colonial powers , she spoke of Emitai as "the supreme" God who is directly involved in Diola communities.[100] Her message was radically counter to the French so-called civilizing mission—a subversive stance that led to her being called the "Jeanne d'Arc de la Casamance."[101] It is therefore conceivable to view her as a *countercolonist*. Like the Apostle Paul, she was sent to create communities whose members share a common identity. Although the prophetess is not a Christian, the community she created included Christians, Muslims and people of other faiths.

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[97] Girard, *Genèse*, 244–5, 329–56. In spite of her confrontations with colonial authorities, three themes pervade her songs: rain, peace and well-being (ritual requires the sacrifice of a black bull). Adherents pray for rain which they believe would bring peace and well-being to their communities. Samb, *L' interprétation*, 147–8. The similarity of her newly introduced rite to older *Awasena* rituals is noted, but hers remains innovative in that it transcends ethnicity and religious henotheism. She devalued the role of the *Awasena* and dropped some rituals and sacrifices associated with individual shrines.

[98] Samb, *L' interprétation*, 148. My translation. This is not just a "gestation of monotheism," as Girard, *Genèse*, 242, 265–6, states; rather it is as Samb points out, an empirical ritualization of monotheism. Against Samb, I would argue that the prophetess did in fact emphasize monotheism through her song. In Diola communities, performative words are integral features of ritual life.

[99] Waldman and Baum, "Innovation," 251–2. Her mode of construction differs from that of French Catholic missionaries. As I note above, she discourages her community members from planting French rice, and peanuts, and any trained person could perform *Kasila* rituals (in contrast to French "celibate male" clergy). Instead of written down revelations as in Christianity, hers "were ongoing, derived from Emitai's direct intervention on behalf of the Diola communities of her day, and mediated by someone who came from their own community, spoke in their own language, and shared their rituals and tribulations." A newly introduced reality is that anyone can serve in the newly introduced reality. For more prohibitions introduced by the prophetess, see Girard, *Genèse*, 218–9.

[100] Baum, *Shrines*, 24. Idem, "Emergence," 389. French colonial administrators accused her of being a political insurrectionist, and exiled her to Tambacounda where she died. Most of her followers were also imprisoned and dispersed. Although she lost the dialogue, her spiritual influence lives on among Diola people to this day. Girard, *Genèse*, 226–228.

[101] Girard, *Genèse*, 265. Diola receptivity to the Holy Ghost Fathers' literacy programs and medical assistance in the onset of colonialism (1880) dissolved in response to their derogatory labels and vilifications of Diola socioreligious traditions (Baum, "Emergence," 381–2).

In sum, Galatians 2:11–14 and 3:26–29 offer a good example of how the Apostle Paul created free communities based on his self-understanding as one sent by God. He did so with a sociopostcolonial hermeneutics that frees humans to live as children of God, to live in community as equals before God. Aline Sitoé defined herself as one commissioned by *Emitai* to found a *hank* ("community") of free people. Both spoke of receiving direct revelations for their missions from the same source: *God/Emitai*. Unlike the prophet, Paul talks about Jesus Christ revealed in him. Whereas Paul talks about "faith working through love" (Gal 5:6), as a key concept for life in community, Aline Sitoé talks about *charity/love* exercised under the aegis of Emitai. That being the case, I now turn to my contributions to Pauline studies with my *sociopostcolonial hermeneutics*.

CHAPTER FIVE

A POSTCOLONIAL READING OF PAUL'S EPISTLE TO THE CHURCHES OF GALATIA: A CONCLUSION

Divine Rationale for Colonization in Ancient and Modern Times

Greek Colonization

In the first chapter I described the Apostle Paul as a sociopostcolonial hermeneut who acted on his self-understanding as God's messenger to create/form, through faith in the cross of Christ, free communities. Building on Irad Malkin, Carol Dougherty, Walter Wilson, and David Balch, I observed that Paul's self-definition strikingly shares common features with ancient Greek colonial lore.[1] Greek colonial tales enshrine Greek mythical explanations and legitimations of colonization by depicting the founder as ritually cleansed, by Apollo, from being a political insurrectionist and murderer turned into a colonist[2] and, I may add, a hermeneut. Apollo justifies colonization by transforming the political recusants or murderers into divine agents through whom the deity colonizes.[3] Lurking behind this Greek self-understanding is a dangerous reduction of humanity into εἰλικρινῶς Ἕλληνες "pure Greeks" and those who are φύσει βάρβαροι or μιξοβάρβαροι "barbarians by nature or mixed barbarians"[4] rooted in a "geocentrism replicated in

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[1] Malkin, *Religion and Colonization*; 1–13, 17–42; idem, "Postcolonial Concepts," 341–4; Dougherty, *Poetics*, 3–43; Wilson, "Urban Legends," 77–95; Balch, "ΜΕΤΑΒΟΛΗ ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΩΝ," 154–188; idem, "Attitudes," 22–47; idem, "ἀκριβῶς…γράψαι (Luke 1:3)," 229–50; idem, "Paul's Portrait," 84–108. See a helpful treatment of the prevalence of colonial lores in the Graeco-Roman world in Stefan Rebenich, "Historical Prose," in *Handbook of Classical Rhetoric in the Hellenistic Period 330 B.C.–A.D. 400* (ed. Stanley E. Porter; New York: Brill, 1997), 279–80.

[2] Dougherty, "It's Murder to Found a Colony," 178–198; idem, "Archaic Greek Foundation Poetry," 35–46; idem, "Pindar's Second Paean: Civic Identity on Parade," *CP* 89/3 (1994): 204–18, especially pages 206–7.

[3] Dougherty, *Poetics*, 32–33, 157, cites Callimachus, *Hymn. Apoll.* 55a, 55–7, who says Phoebus, (Apollo, the Ἀρχηγέτης, Κτίστης) Φοῖβος γὰρ ἀεὶ πολίεσσι θιλῃδεῖ κτιζομένῃσ' "delights in creating cities and weaving their foundations." Plato, *Laws*, 865d–e.

[4] Plato, *Menex*. 245d. Plato insists: "οὕτω δή τοι τό γε τῆς πόλεως γεναῖον καὶ ἐλεύθερον βέβαιόν τε καὶ ὑγιές ἐστι καὶ φύσει μισοβάρβαρον, διὰ τὸ εἰλικρινῶς εἶναι Ἕλληνες καὶ ἀμιγεῖς βαρβάρων. οὐ γὰρ Πέλοπες οὐδὲ Κάδμοι οὐδὲ Αἴγυπτοί τε καὶ

ethnocentrism" that, in turn, justifies the "belief that my ethnic group represents normative human nature."[5]

Surprisingly, the violence involved in the colonization process is often omitted in colonial lore. As Dougherty observes, "the violence of conquering native populations is displaced onto the murder committed by the founder and thus is given, within the colonial tale, a ritual format in which it can be expiated."[6] This is a convenient way of discounting the humanity and presence of the yet-to-be colonized.

Roman Colonization

The apogee of Rome[7] over Greek kingdoms is attributed to "divine election" that made Rome the universal "fatherland of all races"[8] and ordered the Mediterranean region by producing a cosmic equilibrium between fire and dampness. This balance of cosmic elements did much to shape Mediterraneans into supposedly superior people who are apt to rule others because their "ritus molles, sensus liquidos, ingenia fecunda totiusque naturae capacis, isdem imperia, quae numquam extinis gentibus fuerint, sicut ne illae quidem his paruenrint avolsae ac pro immanitate natureae urguentis illas solitarias"[9]

Δαναοὶ οὐδὲ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ φύσει μὲν βάρβαροι ὄντες, νόμῳ δὲ Ἕλληνες, συνοικοῦσιν ἡμῖν, ἀλλ᾽ αὐτοὶ Ἕλληνες, οὐ μιξοβάρβαροι οἰκοῦμεν, ὅθεν καθαρὸν τὸ μῖσος ἐντέτηκε τῇ πόλει τῆς ἀλλοτρίας φύσεως. ὅμως δ᾽ οὖν ἐμονώθημεν πάλιν διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐθέλειν αἰσχρὸν καὶ ανόσιον ἔργον ἐργάσασθαι Ἕλληνας βαρβάροις ἐκδόντες." This text expresses a troubling ethnocentrism.

[5] Malina and Neyrey, *Portraits of Paul*, 121, argue that ethnocentrism was a widespread phenomenon in the ancient world and was expressed in such a way that "to the Greek, Delphi was the navel of the universe (Agathemerus 1.2), a tradition celebrated by Pindar (*Phyth*. 4.74, 6.3), Aeschylus (*Cho*. 40, 166; *Eum*. 1036), and Plato (*Rep*. 4.427bc), and later by Strabo (*Geogr.* 9.3.6) and Pausanias (*Descr*. *Greece* 10.16.3). Archaeological investigations have uncovered a marble object there that is identified as the very navel itself. Alternately, Jerusalem served the same function for the Judeans…"

[6] Dougherty, *Poetics*, 158, cites Herod. *Hist*. 6.23; Strabo, *Geogr*. 14.1.4, who wrote about the brutality involved in clashes between colonizers and colonized.

[7] Polybius, *Hist*. 3.58–75, said that the entire known world was under Roman control.

[8] Pliny, *NH* 3.5.39–40. Pliny praises the uniqueness of Roman Italy as being "a land which is at once the nursling and the mother of all other lands, chosen by providence of the gods to make heaven itself more glorious, to unite scattered empires, to make manners gentle, to draw together in converse by community of language the jarring and uncouth tongues of so many nations, to give mankind civilization, and in a word to become throughout the world the single fatherland of all the races."

[9] Pliny, *NH*, 2.189–90. Pliny must have been influenced by Ps-Aristotle, *Phys*, 805a–809, who thinks human character and physique and the nature of the various species of fauna are determined by the mixture of cosmic elements (hot, cold, dry, and wet). See

> customs are gentle, senses elastic, intellects fertile and able to grasp the whole of nature; and they also have governments, which the outer races never have possessed, any more than they have ever been subject to the central races, being quite detached and solitary on account of the savagery of the nature that broods over those regions.

The conviction that Rome and its Caesars were divinely chosen was conveyed through how Julius Caesar and Octavian publically exercised their self-understanding—meaning, quite frankly, their ideology of dominance.[10] Soon after his death, Augustus Caesar was deified as, *divi filius* "divine son," thus symbolizing divine *Augos* "power" and *praesens* "presence."[11] Like his predecessor, Octavian also believed he was divinely sent not as a Greek political insurrectionist or murderer but as a savior to bring peace and good news to the world.[12] He reached this

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Plato, *Laws*, 5.747d; Aristotle, *Pol.* 7.7, 1327. Ben Sirah believes Gentiles have ignorantly confused these elements for God (Wis 13:1–3). Malina and Neyrey, *Portraits of Paul*, discuss these texts in pages 100–52. Citing Rolf Winkes, "Physiognômonia: Probleme der Charakterinterpretation Römischer Porträts," *ANRW* 1.4. (1973a): 899–926; idem, "Physiognômonia: Probleme der Charakterinterpretation Römischer Porträts," *ANRW* 1.4. Tafeln (1973b): 217–42, on ancient cultural stereotypes, they argue that Pliny's ethnocentrism led to the "scientific" bolster of the "imperial policy of Rome and the myth underpinning it" (Malina and Neyrey, *Portraits of Paul*, 117).

[10] Karl Galinsky, *Augustan Culture: An Interpretive Introduction* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1996), 312–313, hints that Julius Caesar might have caused his own assassination when he came close to apotheosizing himself and that Octavian was cautiously followed in his father's footsteps in viewing himself as savior of Rome. H. W. Pleket, "An Aspect of the Emperor Cult: Imperial Mysteries," *Harvard Theological Review* 58/4(Oct 1965): 331–347 and S. R. F. Price, "The Greek Language of the Roman Imperial Cult," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 104(1984): 79–95, against the once held belief that emperors were not worshiped in the ancient world, argue, with convincing epigraphical evidence, that emperors were venerated. See also Price, *Rituals*, 20–274.

[11] Galinsky, *Augustan Culture*, 316–317, 312–318. Richard A. Horsley, "Introduction," in *Paul and Empire: Religion and Power in Roman Imperial Society* (ed. Richard A. Horsley; Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 1997), 15–16, who builds on Galinsky's reading of works of Cicero, Pliny and Ovid on Augustus. The Roman imperial cult mirrored the old Greek traditional religion with sacrifices, rituals, games, and festivals designed to prompt faith toward the emperor whose temples and images permeated daily life [Price, *Rituals*, 23–248; idem, "Rituals and Power," in *Paul and Empire: Religion and Power in Roman Imperial Society* (ed. Richard A. Horsley; Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 1997), 49]. P. A. Brunt, introduction to *Paul and Empire: Religion and Power in Roman Imperial Society* (ed. Richard A. Horsley; Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 1997), 20–21, especially page 21. On Augustus, see Ovid, *Fasti.* 1.315–17, 587–616. Zanker, *Power of Images*, 33–77, notes how images reflected an internal power struggle among emperors but also symbolized their religious powers (297–339).

[12] Price, "Rituals and Power," 53; Galinsky, *Augustan Culture*, 318. On Augustus apotheosized, see Philo, *Leg.* 149–51, who specifically used the term Σεβαστός with reference to Augustus. See also *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* 21f., 24–7, 34f. quoted in C. K. Barrett, *The New Testament Background: Writings from Ancient Greece and the Roman Empire that*

conclusion by drawing on soteriological concepts inherent in "Greek and Roman traditions as he was building up his divine aura in Rome."[13] By implication, this makes his empire/kingdom an agent of the gods to conquer, govern, and Romanize the world.[14]

Galatians would have experienced Roman imperialism/colonialism both through *humanitas/paideia* or the policy for "receiving all nations"[15] and Paul's Good News as two letters with competing messages: "the *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* as that emperor's 'letter' to the Galatians" and

> the *Res Gestae Divi Christi*, Paul's later and alternative letter to those same Galatians. Paul, of course, announced a different savior for a different world, a different salvation for a different earth, a different God and Son of God for a different creation. He proclaimed Jewish covenantal *shalom* against Roman imperial *pax*.[16]

Roman *humanitas*, however, was a practice restricted to the limits of the empire in such a way that "there were so many kinds of Romans to become that becoming Roman did not mean assimilating to an ideal type, but rather acquiring a position in the complex of structured differences in which Roman power resided."[17] As a policy for accepting or, I might add, civilizing all nations, *humanitas* was filled with serious contradictions. Imperial Rome exercised it through the repressive, oppressive and deadly *Pax Romana*, as Neil Elliott observes:

> the 'peace' that Rome secured through terror was maintained through terror, through slavery, fed by conquest and scrupulously maintained through constant intimidation, abuse, and violence; through the ritualized terror of gladiatorial games, where the human refuse of empire—captives of war, condemned criminals, slaves bought for the arena—were killed in stylized rehearsals of conquest, their fate decided by the whim of the empire's representatives; through the pomp of military processions, which often

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Illuminate Christian Origins (rev. ed.; New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 1989), 1–5, records the exploits of Augustus and the actual institution of the *Pax Romana*.

[13] Galinsky, *Augustan Culture*, 313.

[14] Woolf, *Becoming Roman*, 48.

[15] Balch, "Cultural Origin," 500. See Woolf, *Becoming Roman*, 54–5, for his further discussions of the Roman *humanitas/paideia*.

[16] John Dominic Crossan and Jonathan L. Reed, *In Search of Paul: How Jesus' Apostle Opposed Rome's Empire with God's Kingdom* (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 2004), 183.

[17] Woolf, *Becoming Roman*, 245, 238–249. Dougherty, *Poetics*, 161–2, reaches similar conclusions when she sees Odysseus's identity undergoing a drastic change from a Greek colonizing foreign lands to a returnee who remarries (Penelope) and resettles Ithaca as a new world.

> culminated in the execution of vanquished captives;…It was within this civilization of terror that crucifixion played its indispensable role.[18]

French Colonization

The French claim to be the descendants of the Gauls and missionaries responsible for carrying out "la mission civilisatrice de la France."[19] It is through this rubric that France "would *Frenchify* the other nations,"[20] because the

> French wants above all to imprint his personality on the vanquished…he believes that he can do nothing that would benefit the world more than to give it his ideas, customs, and ways of doing things. He will convert other peoples to these ways, sword in hand, and after the battle, in part smugly and in part sympathetic, he will reveal to them all that they gain by becoming French.[21]

Michelet's frenchifying mission would be fused with Christianity, as Gabriel Hanotaux' report to the Bonaparte First Consul in November 1802 clearly expresses:

> …The foreign Missions, even if they were regarded only as an instrument of civilization, would deserve special protection. What advantages they have gained for the governments which have seen fit to encourage them! The opportunities which the missionaries have had to set up establishment in the most distant regions have put them in a position to increase their country's commerce, to open up new lines of communication and to develop new sources of wealth. Missionaries have carried the glorious

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[18] Neil Elliott, "The Anti-Imperial Message of the Cross," in *Paul and Empire: Religion and Power in Roman Imperial Society* (ed. Richard A. Horsley; Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 1997), 170–1. "The so-called Pax Romana, the cessation of 'hot' wars of expansion and competition among military rivals, was celebrated in rhetoric and ritual as a new golden age, the gift of the gods; but it was 'peace' won through military conquest, as Roman iconography clearly shows. The 'altar of the peace of Augustus' was placed on the Hill of Mars, god of war. Coins struck under Augustus link the armed and armored First Citizen with Pax, goddess of peace, trampling on the weapons of subdued enemies and Victoria, goddess of conquest, treading upon the globe itself" (page 169).

[19] Froelicher, *Trois Colonisateurs*, 7. "France's civilizing mission."

[20] Michelet, *Autobiographie*, 220.

[21] Michelet, *Autobiographie*, 221. "Le Français veut surtout imprimer sa personnalité aux vaincus, non comme sienne, mais comme type du bon et du beau; c'est sa croyance naïve. Il croit, lui, qu'il ne peut rien faire de plus profitable au monde que de lui donner ses idées, ses moeurs et ses modes. Il y convertira les autres peuple l'épée à la main, et après le combat, moitié fatuité, moitié sympathie, il leur exposera tout ce qu'ils gagnent à devenir Français." See also Lesourd, *L' Oeuvre Civilisatrice*, 11, on the role of missionaries.

> name of France to the ends of the earth, extended France's influence and built up links with people whose very existence was unknown. Missionaries have brought back with them, when they return home, valuable knowledge for the arts and sciences. Missionaries have increased our means of subsistence by naturalizing the products of other climates. Finally, it is missionaries that we must thank for teaching us the little-known art of traveling and the important art of gathering useful information.[22]
>
> …Les mission étrangères ne fussent-elles considérées que comme moyen de civilisation, mériteraient une protection spéciale. Mais quels avantages n'ont-elles pas procurés aux Gouvernements qui on su les encourager! Les facilités qu'ont eues les missionnaires de former des établissements dans les centrées les plus lointaines, les ont mis à portée d'agrandir le commerce de leur pays, d'ouvrir de nouvelles de communications et de préparer la source de nouvelles richesses. Ce sont des missionnaires qui ont porté jusqu'aux extrémités du globe de la gloire du nom français, qui on étendu l'influence de la France et qui on donné de nouveaux rapports avec les peuple dont on ignorait l'existence. Ce sont des missionnaires qui on rapporté, en retouchant dans leurs foyers, des connaissance précieuses pour les arts et pour les sciences. Ce sont des missionnaires qui ont accru les moyens de notre subsistance en naturalisant parmi nous des productions nées sous un autre climat. Enfin, ce sont des missionnaires à qui nous sommes redevables de l'art si peu connu des voyages et de l'art si important de faire et de recueillir de bonnes observations.

Hanotaux further refers to Catholic missionaries as "agents prédestinés de l' empire civilisateur" ("predestined agents of the civilizing empire").[23] Like Robert Cushman who appealed to ancestral Biblical accounts as a rationale for settling North America,[24] G. G. Beslier cites Isaiah 35:1, 7 to justify the French colonial efforts in Senegal.[25] Geneviève Nemo

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[22] Gabriel Hanotaux, preface to *L' Oeuvre Civilisatrice et Scientifiques des missionnaires Catholiques dans les colonies Françaises*, by Paul Lesourd (Paris: Sous le patronage du commissariat général de l' exposition coloniale internationale de Paris, 1931), 7. My translation.

[23] Hanotaux, *Preface*, 8. As I previously mentioned, Delavignette, *Christianity*, 65, expressed his frustrations over this fusion of Christianity and colonization. He was not alone in contesting this collapse of Christianity into an Imperial ideology. Whereas some missionaries were advocating imperial policies, others believed they were "to win converts for Christianity."

[24] Cushman, *Historical Genealogy*, 34, cites Gen xiii. 6, 11–12; xxxiv. 21; xli. 20, to justify the colonization of the Americas. Not only does he use scripture to legitimize colonization, he also thinks the laziness of the natives explains the reason why the land was unused. See also Dougherty, *Poetics*, 3–4.

[25] Beslier, *Le Sénégal*, 93. "The wilderness and the dry land shall be glad, the desert shall rejoice and blossom; like the crocus…the burning sand shall become a pool, and the thirsty ground springs of water; the haunt of jackals shall become a swamp, the grass shall become reeds and rushes" (Isa 35:1, 7).

says French missionary expansion and colonization were so mixed that "christianisation, civilisation sont pratiquement synonymes."[26] Just as Hellenization and Romanization (*Pax Romana/humanitas*) were, la *mission civilisatrice* was barbaric because Diola villages were bombed time and again and most of the leaders who resisted French rule were killed or exiled.[27] In sum, Greeks, Romans and French all appeal to the divine to justify their colonial endeavors. That being the case, a postcolonial hermeneutics cannot overlook these claims to divine mandate.

Sociopostcolonial Hermeneutical Contributions

Political theologians heuristically revitalized the Enlightenment's functional critique of religion (*Freiheitsgeschichte* or "freedom history"), which they considered analogous to the Pauline notion of Christian freedom (and thus, appropriate for the critique of politics, law, and socioreligious structures that dehumanize and reduce people to objects).[28] They scrutinized socioreligious and theological doctrines in order to subvert their oppressive, alienating, ethnocentric effect and advocate their liberating, humanizing, and faithful Christocentric "ortho-praxis."[29] Unfortunately, the Christocentric *orthopraxis* of political hermeneutics is reduced by liberation hermeneutics to a mere construal of selective

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[26] Nemo, *Mission et colonisation*, 171. "Christianization and civilization mixed in practice" (my translation). This work focuses on the work of the first female missionaries sent to Senegal led by Mère Anne-Marie Javouhey the founder Sister of Saint Joseph De Clunny in Dakar, Senegal (1819–1904).

[27] Roche, *Histoire*, 281–9, Séléki and Bayot were bombed by the French many times. See also Girard, *Genèse*, 214–28; Lambert, "Violence," 595. Becoming French was limited to those who lived or were born in the Quatre Communes (Four Communes) of Senegal. The rest of the Senegalese population lived under a protectorate. Whereas the Four Communes dwellers were exempt from the indigénat (body of law applied to subjects), the entire Diola region was in the protectorate (see Vaillant, *Black, French*, 34–63; Colvin, *Historical Dictionary*, 192).

[28] Jürgen Moltmann, et al., "The Cross and Civil Religion," *Political Religion and Political Society* (New York Harper & Row Publishers, 1974), ix–xi, 15; idem, "Covenant or Leviathan? Political Theology and Modern Times," *SJT* 47(1994): 38–9; Aliou C. Niang, *The Impact of Eschatology on Ethics in the Thought of Jürgen Moltmann*. A Thesis Presented in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirement for the Masters of Art Degree in Religion. Hardin-Simmons University, Abilene, TX: Hardin-Simmons University, 1997), 73–4. Christians should have critiqued the appalling ideology of the Nazis to exterminate the Jews with their Christocentric message of freedom for all people.

[29] Jürgen Moltmann, *On Human Dignity: Political Theology and Ethics* (trans. M. Douglas Meeks; Philadelphia, PA; Fortress, Press, 1984), 93–4, 98–100; idem, "Political Theology and Liberation Theology," *USQR* 43(1991): 206.

texts with deference solely to the economic freedom of the poor and oppressed black people.[30]

Certainly, it is this reduction of scripture that gave rise to contemporary new promissory voices enshrined in the exercise of sociopostcolonial hermeneutics. Postcoloniality[31] is a sociohistorical, socioreligious, sociopolitical and socioeconomic condition in which the colonized find themselves—a distasteful world created for them against their will from which they assiduously seek to emancipate themselves. Postcolonialism is therefore a multivalent open-ended reading stance.[32] Experiences of the reality of colonialism and its heavy consequences on the lives of Africans is the locus for a liberating sociopostcolonial biblical hermeneutics.[33] The socioreligious and cultural

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[30] James Cone, *Black Theology and Black Power* (Minneapolis, MN: Seabury Press, 1969), 36, reacts against John S. Mbiti, "An African Views American Black Theology," in *Black Theology: A Documentary History, 1966–1979* (eds. Gayraud S. Wilmore and James Cone; Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1979), 382, who argues that the theology Cone promotes has little to say about African theology and will not be "African theology." Black Theology as a theology of liberation lacks scriptural support and the kind of methodology that would engage the very theologies it critiques. This failure, in both American and South African Black Theologies, is troubling and if not corrected, "that branch of African Theology will lose its credibility" [John S. Mbiti, "The Biblical Basis for Present Trends in African Theology," in *African Theology en Route* (ed., Appiah-Kubi and Sergio Torres; Maryknoll, Orbis Books, 1979), 89; idem, "The South African Theology of Liberation: Appreciation and Evaluation," in A Vision For Man: Essays on Faith, Theology and Society in Honour of Joshua Russell Chandran (ed. Samuel Amirtham; India: The Christians Literature Society, 1978), 356]. Sugirtharajah, *Postcolonial Criticism*, 103–116. Practitioners of liberation theology claiming to actualize the prophetic vision of deliverance end up saying little if anything about other religious perspectives, but focus on eliminating poverty. This reading of scripture advocates a hermeneutics of, rather than by, the underprivileged. The Bible is therefore reduced to a narrower canon that dismisses stories dealing with dreams and labels as superstitious various types of healing.

[31] For definitions of terms such as imperialism, postcolonial, postcolonialism, and neocolonialism, see Young, *Postcolonialism*; Ashcroft, et al., *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader*. A concise critical introduction is published by Leela Gandhi, *Postcolonial Theory: A Critical Introduction* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998). Dube, "Postcolonial Biblical Interpretation," *DBI*, K-Z 299–303, offers the most helpful primer to postcolonial biblical interpretations. Idem, *Postcolonial Feminist*.

[32] Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1994), 171. This multivalency, I would argue, enables postcolonial criticisms to "intervene in those theological discourses of modernity that attempt to give hegemonic 'normality' to the uneven development and the differential, often disadvantaged histories, of nations, race, communities, peoples." In effect, postcolonialism is a radical way of existence. For a provocative discussion of trends and trajectories in postcolonial studies, see Perdue, *After the Collapse*, 280–339.

[33] Serequeberhan, "African Philosophy," 12–24; idem, *The Hermeneutics*, 1–11, 117–121. Serequeberhan argues that a self-understanding of present African experiences is the starting point for a genuine African hermeneutics.

traditions from which most Africans have been displaced[34] can be effectively shaped by the Pauline notion of freedom in Christ.

Current African Postcolonial Voices

Earlier, I lamented the lack of methodology in current postcolonial studies and the limited interactions with voices that paved the way for decolonization that can easily stifle its capacity to deliver. The writings of Senghor and Césaire and later Frantz Fanon reflect their deep and unconscious and conscious struggles against colonial alienation and assiduous attempts to decolonize Africans.[35] Recent works, due to the inability of black theologians to persuade white hermeneuts of the effectiveness to free the oppressed, propose an ideological and theoretical break to ensure a genuine black liberation hermeneutics.[36] Since the "people's reading of the Bible is framed by their history and

[34] On the physical level, displacement can be voluntary or forced. Whereas some people, like myself, voluntarily migrate for intellectual or religious quests, others are forced to migrate due to political and social unrest. By displacement, I mean the repression and oppression of Africans in all dimensions of life wrought by the colonial advent and its aftermaths. European civilization was imposed on Africans thus stripping individuals of their cultural and spiritual convictions by generating a host of other kinds of displacements. See Daniel L. Smith-Christopher, *A Biblical Theology of Exile* (OBT; Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2002), 28, for a concise discussion of colonial and other forms of displacements.

[35] Senghor, "Spirit of Civilisation," 52–4; idem, "What is 'Négritude?'" 54–55; Césaire, *Discourse*, 91–4; idem, *Cahier*; They sought to free Africans from the negative typologies that enslaved most Africans mentally and altered their thought processes to think of themselves as inferior and subhuman. Clear examples of how typologies affected human psyche is evident in their writings. Fanon, *Black Skin*, 147–8. "The black schoolboy in the Antilles, who in his lessons is forever talking about 'our ancestors, the Gauls,' identifies himself with the explorer, the bringer of civilization, the white man who carries truth to savages—an all white truth…As a schoolboy, I had many occasions to spend whole hours talking about the supposed custom of the savage Senegalese…Because the Antillean does not think of himself as a black man; he thinks of himself as an Antillean. The Negro lives in Africa. Subjectively, intellectually, the Antillean conducts himself like a white man. But he is a Negro. That he will learn once he goes to Europe; and when he hears Negroes mentioned he will recognize that the word includes himself as well as a Senegalese. What are we to conclude on this matter?" While in Europe, Fanon complained "what is all this talk about black people, of a Negro nationality? I am a Frenchman. I am interested in French culture, French civilization, French people,…I am personally interested in the future of France, in French values, in the French nation. What have I to do with a black empire?" (Fanon, *Black Skin*, 203).

[36] Mosala, *Biblical Hermeneutics*, 4. Mosala situates this lack of effectiveness in an "ideological and theoretical enslavement to the biblical hermeneutics of the dominant theologies"—an enslavement that "often leads to the promotion of those theologies rather than black theologies."

culture," Mosala insists, a biblical hermeneutics of liberation must be indigenous.[37] Unfortunately, most postcolonial biblical studies devote little time to strong biblical exegetical studies.[38]

Musa Dube argues that Western scholarship reads scripture in a way that legitimates imperialism. Following Kwesi Dickson, she avers[39] that Paul tromps the very freedom he championed among the Galatians in his unwillingness to accept their socioreligious convictions (Gal 4:8–11)—an exclusivism, she thinks, that is inherent in the New Testament.[40] She thus proposes to rid scripture of its colonizing effects, especially on women.[41] Mercy Oduyoye holds similar convictions and defines theology as faith that

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[37] Mosala, *Biblical Hermeneutics*, 3. He thinks this lack of contextualization led to the failure of Latin American liberation theology. See also idem, "The Implications of the Text of Esther for African Women's Struggle for Liberation in South Africa," in *The Postcolonial Biblical Reader* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), 134–141.

[38] The exception is *The Bible in Africa: Transactions, Trajectories and Trends* (eds., Gerald O. West & Musa W. Dube; New York: Brill, 2000), which provides crucial ways of reading the Bible in a Postcolonial Africa. See also Dube, *Postcolonial Feminist*; R. S. Sugirtharajah, ed., *The Postcolonial Bible* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998); Justin S. Upkong et al., *Reading the Bible in the Global Village: Cape Town* (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 2002); R. S. Sugirtharajah, ed., *The Postcolonial Biblical Reader* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2006). Works seeking to establish African Biblical Hermeneutics such as Mosala, *Biblical Hermeneutics*; Gerald O. West, *Biblical Hermeneutics of Liberation: Modes of Reading the Bible in the South African Context* (2nd rev. ed.; New York: Orbis Books, 1991); Emmanuel Lartey, *African Theology: Inculturation and Liberation* (New York: Orbis Books, 1995); John Parratt, *Reinventing Christianity: African Theology Today* (Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1995); idem, *A Reader in African Christian Theology* (rev. ed.; London: SPCK Press, 1997); are equally crucial to an African postcolonial biblical hermeneut. Other than the above, most postcolonial studies are highly theoretical, hardly dealing with the Biblical text [Segovia, *Decolonizing Biblical Studies*. R. S. Sugirtharajah, *The Bible and Empire: Postcolonial Exploration* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005); idem, *The Bible and the Third World: Precolonial, Colonial and Postcolonial Encounters* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

[39] Kwesi Dickson, *Uncompleted Mission: Christianity and Exclusivism* (Maryhall, NY: Orbis Books, 1991), 68, notes that whereas Luke's Paul (Acts) is "almost conciliatory," the Paul of the Pauline corpus is "uncompromisingly contemptuous." The latter demotes Galatian socioreligious convictions as well as advises the subjugation of women to "masculine authority" (ibid., 59, 68–76).

[40] Dube, *Postcolonial Feminist*, 13. She also detects the same colonizing ideology in the Matthean view of missions in Matt 15 and 28 and Johannine creation of a symbolic world [see, idem, "Savior of the World but Not of This World: A Post-Colonial Reading of Spatial Construction in John," in *The Postcolonial Bible* (ed. R. S. Sugirtharajah; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 119, 130–33]. Similarly, "the exalted space of Jesus as savior of the world, who is not of this world, is shown to be a colonizing ideology that claims power over all other places and peoples of the earth—one which is not so different from other constructions in secular literature" (132).

[41] Dube, *Postcolonial Feminist*, 20–1, 23–43; idem, "Savior"; idem, "Rahab Says Hello to Judith: A Decolonizing Feminist Reading," *The Postcolonial Biblical Reader* (ed. R. S. Sugirtharajah; Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), 142–158.

seeks to understand and free the dignity of human life. She, too, seeks to decolonize Biblical stories in order to retrieve their liberating power to help women resist the oppression and violence perpetrated against them.[42] All these voices agree that biblical hermeneutics is contextual.

Against Dube and Dickson, I find significant differences between Graeco-Roman authors,[43] Paul, and his opponents in their divine legitimation for community and identity constructions. The festivals Paul refers to in Gal 4:8–11 should not be read in isolation from the στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου (elemental spirits of the world) of Gal 4:3, 9. Paul does not exclude his Judean traditions from being affected by στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου.[44] The "elemental spirits of the world" fosters the kind of binary thinking that leads to colonizing, romanizing, judaizing and frenchifying ideologies Paul assiduously tried to decolonize from the minds of his readers. To accept circumcision is to be enslaved by στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου which are the same cosmic forces that affected the Galatian pre-Christians socioreligious convictions and the Judean Torah ordering of times and seasons. Paul calls these enslaving cosmic τοῖς φύσει μὴ οὖσιν θεοῖς in Gal 4:8.[45] Clearly Paul was engaged in an intra-Judean-Diaspora Christian debate as well

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[42] Mercy Amba Oduyoye, *Introducing African Women's Theology* (IFT; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001); idem, "Biblical Interpretation and the Social Location of the Interpreter: African Women's Reading of the Bible," *Reading From This Place: Social Location and Biblical Interpretation in the United States* (eds., Fernando F. Segovia and Mary Ann Tolbert; Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1995). See also Dube, *Postcolonial Feminist*; 57–83; idem, "Savior of the World," 118–135. As stated above both scholars are concerned with the kind of patriarchal domination of women that still pervades most of the African continent.

[43] Aristotle, *Metaph.*, 986; Ps-Aristotle, *On the Cosmos*, 392a28–396b; Martyn, *Galatians*, 393–408. Martin, *The Corinthian*, 6–8, 32–36.

[44] Bruce, *Galatians*, 205 and Martyn, *Galatians*, 393–408. See also Schnelle, *Apostle*, 273–77 who cites evidence from the Dead Sea Scrolls on Second Temple Judaism ordering of times and seasons as a crucial dimension of Torah observance ("1QS 1:13–15; 9:26–10:8; 1QM 2:4; 10:15; CD 3:12–16; 16:2–4; 1QH 1:24; 12:4–9; *Jub.* 6:32, 36, 37; *1 En.* 72:1; 75:3–4; 79:2; 82:4, 7–10").

[45] Betz, *Galatians*, 214. Idem, *Galatians*, 213, where Betz convincingly posits that it is "noteworthy that Paul has nothing to say about the religions to which the Galatians adhered in the past. Were they worshippers of the older Celtic Gods? Or did they come from a variety of cults? Differently from his treatment of Judaism, Paul avoids references to details of the former religion of the Galatians. He prefers to lump them all together under the heading of 'the elements of the world' (τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κοσμοῦ)." He also later points to the inferior nature of these cosmic beings (Gal 4:9) as opposed to their non-existence for which Paul argued elsewhere in 1 Cor 8:4–6. See also, Lührmann, *Galatians*, 83–5.

over his opponents' exclusive identity construction that regarded Torah observance as normative for non-Judean Christians.[46]

I concur with Mosala that an ideological and theoretical break is necessary, but the African hermeneut should remain conversant with dominant theologies. It is in engaging dominant theologies critically that an African hermeneut can formulate his/her self understanding contextually. Since the colonized experience history, economy, and religion in a social milieu, I propose a shift in terminology from a postcolonial biblical hermeneutics to sociopostcolonial biblical hermeneutics.

Paul as a Countercolonist and Sociopostcolonial Hermeneut

The socioreligious convictions of Gauls/Galatians, especially the religious rites of purity and confession/reconciliation engraved in the inscriptions, made it easier for them to embrace Paul's message.[47] Gauls/Galatians relied on the gods to pursue (ἐπιζητέω) or discover (ἀναζητέω) and punish (κολάζω) culprits with a view to extracting public confessions for all sorts of wrongdoings. They employed curses to ward off tomb raiders, prayed for divine justice, and offered public and inscribed confessions as testimonies to the powers of the gods (sometimes with priestly mediation) for all community members to see.[48] Paul also evokes a curse on anyone who would preach another gospel (Gal 1:8–9). To preach or accept another gospel is to violate the votive offering of God (Jesus Christ) publically displayed (Gal 3:1–2, 10–13, 26–29) which is the very source of their new identity. The word ἐλάβετε [you received (Gal 3:2)] suggests Galatians initially received the gospel preached by Paul (Gal 1:1–9)—a message aimed at decolonizing their minds from a negative self-understanding (of

[46] Schnelle, *Apostle*, 274f 29–32.

[47] For details on key confession inscriptions, see Steinleitner, *Die Beicht*; Petzl, *Die Beichtinschriften*; some are recorded by Herrmann, *Tituli Asiae Minoris;* Ricl, "CIG-4142," 35–43; idem, "Appeal to Divine Justice," 67–76. A ground breaking discussion of these confession inscriptions in relation to Galatians is in Arnold, "I am Astonished," 429–49, and Elliott, *Cutting Too Close*, 58–93. Arnold, "I am Astonished," 438, rightly disagrees with Elliott insisting that Paul's opponents are in view here. As mentioned in my first chapter, Schnabel, "Divine Tyranny," 160–188, credits the rise of confession inscriptions to a rural Anatolian response to the Christian proselytism. Again, epigraphical evidence seems to suggest otherwise as Ricl has shown (Ricl, "Hosios kai Dikaios," 1–70; idem, "Appeal," 68).

[48] Petzl, "Sünde, Strafe," 155–66; Chaniotis, "Under the Watchful Eyes," 1–43; idem, "Illness and Cures," 323–37; Varinlioğlu, "Zeus Orkamaneites," 75–86; Mitchell, *Anatolia*, 1:188–9. Faraone, "The Agnostic Context," 3–32; Strubbe, "Cursed Be," 33–59, Versnel, "Κόλασαι . . . Punish," 125–9. Plato, *Laws*, 11. 933d; idem, *Rep.* 2.364c.

being beast-like warriors, and unreliable and vanquished barbarians) to a new empowering self-definition as children of the God revealed in Jesus Christ (Gal 3:26–27).

Paul's birth, mission, and message are divinely orchestrated.[49] Unlike Greek and Roman colonists who founded colonies, Paul the *countercolonist* was sent to create "not colonies or cities but houses (Luke 10:5; 19:9; Acts 2:46; 8:3; 11:14; 16:15, 31; 18:8; 20:20) and churches (ἐκκλησίαι; Acts 9:31; 15:3, 41; 20:28)."[50] As Balch avers, "the early baptismal confession—'there is no longer Jew or Greek' (Gal 3:28a)—is an assertion from below: '[we] Jews [Asians, non-Europeans] are not inferior!'"[51] In a world dominated by colonial oppression and repression, filled with enslaving, dehumanizing ideologies and typologies, God through Paul creates and purifies (Gal 3:26–28; 6:15) Gauls/Galatians turning them into τὸν Ἰσραὴλ τοῦ θεοῦ "the Israel of God" (Gal 6:10–15).

As a persecutor of the church whom God purified, transformed, and empowered into an *apostolic hermeneut* (Gal 1:13–16; 1 Cor 15:9b), Paul reconfigures his world by reinterpreting his former socioreligious and ethnocentric convictions (Gal 1:13–14, 23; 2:15). Through Paul, Jesus creates new and egalitarian communities (Gal 2:20–21) in which οὔτε περιτομή τι ἰσχύει οὔτε ἀκροβυστία ἀλλὰ πίστις δι᾽ ἀγάπης ἐνεργουμένη (Gal 5:6; 6:15).[52] To observe laws governing circumcision,[53] foods and festivals

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[49] Gal 1:15 ὁ ἀφορίσας με ἐκ κοιλίας μητρός μου "[God] separated me from my mother's womb" and Gal 1:16 ἵνα εὐαγγελίζωμαι αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν "in order that I may preach him among the Gentiles." He argues that James, Peter, and John are aware of the divine origin of his message (Gal 2:7–9). This confirms Luke's account (Acts 9:3–20). Luke has Paul, the potential murderer (Acts 9:1), see a theophany (Acts 9:17; 22:6; 26:13), hear a divine voice, divinely disabled (Acts 9:3–6), and ritually cleansed [not in a temple but in a house (Acts 9:17–18)], and guided by God on what to do afterwards (Acts 9:16). Henceforth, Luke says Paul began to κηρύσσω (announce) his gospel (Acts 9:20).

[50] Balch, "ΜΕΤΑΒΟΛΗ ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΩΝ," 163. Additionally, the founding of house-churches suggests a return to the basic family-community concept which, in Diola parlance, is called *hank* (community). Many Diola houses are constructed in such a way that different families live under the same roof. See also Wilson, "Urban Legends," 77–99, who draws crucial parallels between Graeco-Roman colonization and Luke's account of early Christian missions.

[51] Balch, "ΜΕΤΑΒΟΛΗ ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΩΝ," 153.

[52] "Neither circumcision nor uncircumcision is of any *empowerment* but faith working through love." My emphasis and translation.

[53] Elliott, *Cutting Too Close*, 12–13, 14, says Paul uses the mountain allegory to dissuade his converts from "being circumcised" because of his aversion to "the cult of the Mother of the Gods and an abhorrence of self-castration." Worshipers of the "mountain Mother" castrate themselves for her service—a practice "too similar" to the Jewish ritual of circumcision. According to Elliott, the law is not the issue but the

in this new reality (Gal 2:11–14; 4:10–11) is πάλιν ἄνωθεν δουλεύειν ["to be enslaved again" (Gal 4:9)]. He was creating an alternative community that would receive all people more that the Roman policy would.

The στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου ["elemental spirits of the world" (Gal 4:3, 9)], the κόσμος ["word" (Gal 6:14)], and Paul himself are crucified in the cross of Jesus Christ—an apocalyptic event that introduced καινὴ κτίσις "a new creation" (Gal 6:15). This new experience freed and empowered him to proclaim the continuous power of the cross-event to crucify Graeco-Roman binarism that legitimizes colonization, repression, oppression, derogatory labeling, exclusivism of the kind of James' emissaries, the "false believers," and French claim to supremacy. Against Edward Adams, Paul was not constructing an exclusive Christian community, "separate from the Jewish community."[54] Rather, as a diaspora Judean, Paul was debating some of his fellow diaspora and Palestinian Judeans insisting that the cross of Christ universalizes or internationalizes Judaism.[55]

It does so by faith through love shaping Christocentric people into *other-centered* people—a project through which Greeks, Romans, diaspora and Palestinian Judeans, French, Diola and other peoples would change the world. This way of creating communities does not *ethnocentricize* but contextualizes or inculturates with a view to universalizing the Christian message in such a way that

> the table of the new age and world order where Jews and Gentiles, Greek and Barbarians, free and slave, male and female Goddesses and Giants

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Anatolian cult. Paul's hermeneutics in Galatians cannot be isolated from his reading of the Torah that paves the way to a hermeneutical dialogue with his converts over religious imperialism. Against Elliott, Paul's central concern lies on God's promise. The naming of the ancestors (Abraham, Hagar and Sarah) is illustrative. Dale B. Martin, review of Susan Elliott, *Cutting too Close to Comfort: Paul's Letter to the Galatians in its Anatolian Cultic Context, CBQ* 66(2004): 647–49, finds her use of a mountain as connecting Hagar and the Mother of the gods unlikely. See also Arnold, "'I am Astonished,'" 431.

[54] Adams, *Constructing*, 232.

[55] Theissen, *Social Reality*, 202–87. Theissen argues that Christianity (*daughter*) evolved out of Judaism (*mother*) into a universal religion. In reaction to Theissen, Wolfgang Stegemann insists Christianity is not an abstract religion devoid of family and sociocultural realities. Taking his cues from Boyarin and Cohen, Stegemann insists that ethnicity was crucial to the rise of early Christianity. Kinship enshrined in ethno-religious debates marked the ministries of Jesus and Paul (Abram and Jesus). Although Stegemann's point is well taken, he fails to explain how Christianity would fare beyond the Graeco-Roman world. Wolfgang Stegemann, "The Emergence of God's New People: The Beginnings of Christianity Reconsidered," *Annali di Storia dell' Esegesi* 21/2(2004): 497–513; idem, "Is Christianity a Universalized Judaism? Some Questions Concerning Gerd Theissen's 'Theory of Primitive Christianity,'" *Annali di Storia dell' Esegesi* 21/2(2004): 597–615. See also Watson, *Paul and the Hermeneutics*, 514–33.

> ate together–it is a table where everybody is admitted but not everything is permitted. Both Self and Other must make peace with their former enemies, share food with those declared poison and pest for ages. It is a table where the poor belong and all children are fed, because they are all perceived as children of God.[56]

Paul reminds the Gauls/Galatians that the Jerusalem Apostles agreed to his non-Judean mission[57]—that he had to confront and shame Peter publically for his judaizing actions[58] that compromised table-fellowship in Galatia (Gal 2:11–14). Reasons for this failure include circumcision and "laws governing food or purity."[59] Both Gal 2:11–14 and Acts 15 suggest that "at the time of the Jerusalem meeting the church of Antioch was ordering its common life on the assumption that law observance was a matter of indifference."[60] That is why Paul views the judaizing actions of Peter and Barnabas in Antioch

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[56] Kahl, "Reading Galatians," 40. See Gal 2:11–20; 3:26–29 and 6:14–16.

[57] Gal 2:2–10 hints that Paul's visit led to an intense dialogue over his propagation of a law-free-gospel among the Gentiles (expressions such as but Titus οὐδὲ…ἠναγκάσθη περιτμηθῆναι· …ὥραν εἴξαμεν τῇ ὑποταγῇ, "he was not compelled to be circumcised,…we did not give in for a moment," indicate that the meeting turned into a confrontation). Many commentators reduce Titus' presence to a practical "test" (Bruce, *Galatians*, 111; Lührmann, *Galatians*, 39. Dunn, *Galatians*, 91, simply thinks Titus may have been a helper and test). Whether Titus is circumcised or not is debated but most scholars concur that he was not [Betz, *Galatians*, 89; Dunn, *Galatians*, 96. See also Martyn, *Galatians*, 218, who draws a theological link between the false believers and the teachers in Galatia. F. C. Burkitt, *Christian Beginnings* (London: University of London, 1924), 118, maintains Titus was circumcised]. Luke has James say μὴ παρενοχλεῖν τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐπιστρέφουσιν ἐπὶ τὸν θεόν "we should not annoy those from the Gentiles who are turning to God" (Acts 15:19), then he adds that Gentiles should keep some features peculiar to Jewish cultural identity such as ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν ἀλισγημάτων τῶν εἰδώλων καὶ τῆς πορνείας καὶ τοῦ πνικτοῦ καὶ τοῦ αἵματος…ἐξ ὧν διατηροῦντες ἑαυτοὺς εὖ πράξετε. ἔρρωσθε (Act 15:20, 29b). It is conceivable that the situation in Jerusalem was more complex than Luke reports. The ψευδαδέλφοι, "false believers" appear to belong to another group with a competing mode of identity formation or construction (Acts 15:1–2, 5). Acts 12 records events leading up to the execution of James, the brother of John, the persecution of the Jerusalem Apostles, the resulting incarceration of Peter and his divinely orchestrated escape. Peter's presence in Antioch might be due to deteriorating conditions in Jerusalem.

[58] Ben Witherington III, *Grace in Galatia: A Commentary on Paul's Letter to the Galatians* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1998), 151. Malina and Pilch, *Social-Science Commentary*, think Paul used praise and blame, key rhetorical features of encomium, to praise himself and blame Peter for his inconsistent and unreliable behavior that affected others.

[59] Hill, *Hellenists and Hebrews*, 109. For a concise discussion of views pertaining to the conflict at Antioch, see Cummins, *Paul and the Crucified*, 164–5.

[60] Martyn, *Galatians*, 222.

> as a return to the law of the emperor. That is why he accuses Peter to live in a Gentilish, idolatrous way right at the moment when he has proven his Jewishness by separating from the Gentiles (Gal 2:14). What Paul 'sees' is that the apocalyptic order of the word peace revealed to him as new creation was replaced by the old imperial battle order again.[61]

This mode of community construction counters Graeco-Roman ethnocentrism and the divide between Judeans and non-Judeans [divisive symbolic worlds: Greek and Barbarian (civilized versus uncivilized) and Judeans versus non-Judeans (God and law versus Godless and lawless)].[62] Paul, a diaspora Judean (Gal 2:15; Phil 3:3–6; Acts 22:3) by birth (φύσει), eats with Gauls/Galatian Christians (Gal 2:11–14), stresses their unity in Christ, calls them σπέρμα (seed) of Abraham and κληρονόμοι (heirs) according the promise (Gal 3:26–29) making him a countercolonist whose message is the Good News. Exercising this Good News turned the Gauls/Galatians into τὸν Ἰσραὴλ τοῦ θεοῦ ["the Israel of God" (Gal 6:16)]: καινὴ κτίσις (a new creation) indeed! This makes Paul a countercolonist hermeneut par excellence with a liberating sociopostcolonial message.

A Liberating Inculturation of the Biblical Message

Inculturation is a hermeneutical discourse and counterdiscourse that Diola elders exercised at the onset of their religious conflicts with the Holy Ghost Fathers. The poignancy of colonial influence in Senegal lies heavily in its capacity to ensure a national cultural and religious displacement. In his *L' aventure Ambiguë*, Cheikh Amidou Kane describes the colonial advent as "étrange aube" (strange dawn) to which the African continent awakens. The French colonists were warriors and healers—strange people who "knew how to kill with effectiveness" and "cure with the same art." In other words, where "they had brought disorder, they established a new order."[63] It was a two-edged sword—the lethal effects of the canon "compels the body," the new school shrewdly makes permanent its conquest by bewitching "the soul" and restoring "peace" from the aches of death and destruction by introducing French socioreligious, cultural and political convictions.[64]

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[61] Kahl, "Reading Galatians," 42.

[62] Kahl, "Reading Galatians," 29. I would argue that Paul's ire is directed toward both Roman imperialism, the Judean law, and any structural power that excludes people of any social group.

[63] Cheikh Amidou Kane, *L' aventure Ambiguë* (France: Julliard, 1961), 66.

[64] Kane, *L' aventure* 66–67, 65–68, sees young Senegalese, including himself, being sent to France to learn about their new culture—an experience that brings death to one's socioreligious convictions.

Prior to the ministry of Aline Sitoé, Diola leaders were also bewildered over the origin and effectiveness of French suppressive power which they thought was unmatched by that of their spirit shrines.[65]

Initially (1880–1918), Diola elders welcomed the ministry of the Holy Ghost Fathers (medical assistance, literacy programs, and their sensitivity to Diola socioreligious convictions and socioeconomic needs).[66] However, literacy through catechism soon turned into a process of acculturation that negated the values of Diola socioreligious and cultural practices. Upon hearing catechumens say they were "being taught that the *ukine* were satanic and that many of their customs were evil," elders and priest-kings "withdrew their co-operation from mission programmes and began to resist the new teachings."[67] Thus began the process of inculturation up to the ministry of Aline Sitoé (1940–42), whose religious resurgence "led a revitalization movement that led to a reaffirmation of Diola religion that has carried into post-colonial era."[68]

Similarly, Diola priest-kings were engaged in a mythological struggle with European Christians, "who were trying through Christian Diola to substitute a foreign exclusivism for indigenous pluralism."[69] The Diola *hank /hankahou* (community/ communities) *Emitai* initiated through the ministry of Aline Sitoé were opened to all people regardless of their religious background, ethnicity, gender, and social status. To many Diola people, her

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[65] Robert M. Baum, "Shrines, Medicines, and the Strength of the Head: The Way of the Warrior among the Diola of Senegambia," *Numen* 40/3 (1993), 287; idem, "Emergence," 372. French colonial pressures "challenged the efficacy of Diola institutions in all spheres of life. The imposition of colonial government, its policies of taxation, forced labour and military conscriptions all raised profound questions about the sources of power in the community. The origin of French power remained mysterious and was not really understood through Diola historical experience." Diola responses to French power ranged from conversion to Christianity, syncretism and reconversion.

[66] Baum, "Emergence," 378–381. Most of the catechumens were raised by missionaries. Holy Ghost Fathers prayed for rain and healing in competition with elders and priest-kings. They sought to convince the populace that their medical exploits were divinely orchestrated. They learned national languages and communicated directly with nationals.

[67] Baum, "Emergence," 380–1. Reading proficiency not only increased their chances for employment in urban settings, it led some of the catechumens to challenge the authority of priest-kings and elders. Missionaries began to make more demands on their converts to drop Diola socioreligious convictions. For instance, marriages between believers would have to be restricted to Christian rituals. In the subsequent period (1918–1945), missionaries became more stringent and determined to annihilate Diola socioreligious customs by marshaling efforts to label all Diola socioreligious world as savage, pagan, and Satanic (Baum, "Emergence," 386–9).

[68] Baum, "Shrines, Medicines," 288. She dropped the role of the warrior that was crucial during the armed resistence against French authorities.

[69] Waldman and Baum, "Innovation," 269.

ministry would have been seen as a precursor to the Pauline egalitarian community (Gal 2:11–14; 3:28).

Aline Sitoé, too, was involved in a mythological battle with European Christians through their Diola converts who reinterpreted traditional view of *Emitai* through European ethnocentric Christian lenses[70] She created an inclusive and egalitarian community—a mode of community construction that echoes Paul's countercolonizing and decolonizing message of liberation (Gal 2:11–21; 3:26–29). Against Justin S. Upkong, Dube is right that inculturation is an earlier movement of liberation[71] that resisted the demotion of Diola socioreligious, historical, political, and economic realities. Inculturation, the common thread shared by Négritude, Pan-Africanism, and the ministry of Aline Sitoé, worked to reaffirm past African traditional customs as anything but barbaric.[72] The Holy Ghost Fathers failed to capitalize on crucial parallels between Diola socioreligious systems and Christianity. As Baum noted,

> Christian concepts of God and of community of saints have parallels in many African religions. Like Christianity, *awasena* religion has sacraments of spiritual purification at birth and has rituals of confession and

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[70] Girard, *Genèse*, 218. Aline Sitoé reinterpreted Diola traditions by instituting "un jour férié tous les cinq jours" ("sixth day of rest"), which Baum calls a Diola day of rest for the rice paddies as opposed to the Diola Christian Sabbath (Waldman and Baum, "Innovation," 270). She restructured Diola life in order to compete with emerging Christian Diola voices claiming their new found faith provided them with superior ways of relating to *Emitai*.

[71] Musa Dube, "Villagizing, Globalizing, and Biblical Studies," *Reading the Bible in the Global Village: Cape Town* (ed. Justin S. Upkong; Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 2002), 41–63; especially pages 49–59. Justin S. Upkong, ed., "Reading the Bible in a Global Village: Issues and Challenges from African Readings," *Reading the Bible in the Global Village: Cape Town* (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 2002), 9–39. African scholars are divided to this day on how liberation theology relates to African theology. Some find African American liberation, as practiced by African Americans and South Africans, narrow in perspective as mentioned above. For details on these serious debates, see Martey, *African Theology*, 5–57, 95–137; Parratt, *Reinventing Christianity*, 1–24, 137–62; Parratt, ed., *A Reader*. Given their different concerns, inculturation and liberation theologies should be conversant in order to improve on their limitations.

[72] For crucial works on Négritude, see Léopold Sédar Senghor, *Léopold Sédar Senghor et la revue* (PA; Dakar, SN: Présence Africaine, 1996); Gary Wilder, *The French Imperial Nation-State: Négritude and Colonial Humanism Between Two World Wars* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 2005); Vaillant, *Black, French*, 243–71. For works on Pan-Africanism, see Kwame Nkrumah, *Africa Must Unite* (New York: International Publishers, 1968); idem, *Consciencism*; idem, *Ghana: The Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah* (New York: The International Publishers, 1957), 35–63; Julius K. Gnyerere, *Freedom and Socialism: Uhruru na UjamaaI* (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), 207–17; idem, "The Dilemma of the Pan-Africanist," in *Ideologies of Liberation in Black Africa, 1856–1970* (ed. J. Ayo Langley; London: Rex Collings, 1979), just to list a few.

> of offering prayers with wine. In their concept of the *oeyi* or priest-king, a man who is both sacred and slave, all-powerful yet a prisoner of his power, Diola converts could readily understand the sacrifice of Jesus as a way of securing divine favour for his people. Thus new adherents could see strong similarities between their old and new faiths and, while accepting a new religious authority, retain some sense of continuity with older views of their world.[73]

The message of the gospel was initially well received but conflicts began when the ethnocentrism of the French Holy Ghost Fathers turned it into another gospel, namely repressive derogatory and bad news of terror for Diola people. They despised what they perceived to be Diola Christian syncretism[74] overlooking the fact that their own apprehension of the traditions of Jesus and Paul was achieved through Modern European thought forms rather than Palestinian ones.[75] As Lamin Sanneh rightly notes, "syncretism is the term we use for the religion of those we don't like. No one calls himself or herself syncretistic!"[76] To this day, Christian and

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[73] Baum, "Emergence," 375. It is troubling that the Holy Ghost Fathers ignored the fact that the New Testament includes trends of inculturation of the traditions of Jesus. Dialogues between Paul, his fellow Judean and non-Judean Christians, and his Galatian converts are over his inculturation of Jesus' traditions [Graydon F. Snyder, *Inculturation of the Jesus Tradition: The Impact of Jesus on Jewish and Roman Cultures* (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 1999), 1–38; idem, "The Interaction of Jews with Non-Jews in Rome," in *Judaism and Christianity in First-Century Rome* (ed. Karl P. Donfried and Peter Richardson; Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1998), 69–90]. For evidence on inculturation in the ancient world, see Barclay, *Jews in the Mediterranean*.

[74] Baum, "Emergence," 386–9. The Diola were considered a people without religion. According to Mark, "Fetishers," 93–98, Europeans unleashed dehumanizing typologies characterizing the Diola as indolent, barbaric and morally depraved people. The prevalence of polygamous marriages and public nudity show how uncivilized they were compared to European culture. Baum, "Crimes of the Dream," 202–28, talks about Diola people being charged by French authorities with cannibalism and witchcraft. Some believed the rise of spiritual witchcraft and cannibalism polluted their communities to an extent that it was vulnerable to French powers. The confessions of culprits enact their purification and reintegration. Since some accusations "arise out of personal vendettas"…Diola people often left culprits to be prosecuted and punished by *Emit* (Baum, "Crimes of the Dream," 213).

[75] Graydon S. Snyder, *Inculturation of the Messages of the Jesus Tradition*, Graydon shows how Christianity was assimilated and inculturated from Judea to the Diaspora—from Jesus to the Apostle Paul. See also Lamin Sanneh, *Translating the Message: The Missionary Impact on Culture* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2005); idem, *Disciples of All the Nations: Pillars of World Christianity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 3–56, a similar argument.

[76] Lamin Sanneh, *Whose Religion Is Christianity?: The Gospel Beyond the West* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2003), 44.

non-Christian Diola debate Diola inculturation of the Christian message over the observance of traditional rituals.[77]

Inculturation is a crucial hermeneutical tool that a Diola postcolonial hermeneut can use in his/her reading or hearing of biblical texts because being in Christ is a socioreligious act. As Sanneh maintains,

> indigenizing the faith meant decolonizing its theology . . . inculturated Christianity is not merely a sequel of discredited versions of the religion; it anticipates an emancipated society a situation for which local leadership is best suited.[78]

That being the case, Paul is *a* sociopostcolonial hermeneut and countercolonist sent by Jesus Christ/God to create new and inclusive communities whose members are conscious of their new status and prerogatives as socioreligious beings. Could this be what it means to become God's *new creation* in Galatia as well as in Senegal? Perhaps this is what the post-WWII era new Diola clergy understood and exercised in striving to contextualize the gospel by giving voice to "Diola spiritual concerns."[79]

We have seen that Diola spiritual concerns are directly linked to the social, historical, political, and economic dimensions of Diola life—a horizon that must not be ignored in the spreading of the Good News of Jesus Christ. In sum, I propose that Paul was a countercolonist whose message decolonizes by freeing the colonized to be conscious of their divine status as children of the promise (Gal 4:23, 28, 31), regardless of their cultural contexts, ethnicity, gender, and social status (Gal 3:28). Such a message is implemented not through cultural transplantation as first colonial missionaries to Senegal have done, but rather through an inculturation of the message of the cross. The above arguments bolster my thesis that the Apostle Paul was a countercolonist whose sociopostcolonial hermeneutics powerfully shapes and frees enslaved people with a view to creating new postcolonial communities in Christ. This makes him a subversive countercolonist.

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[77] Nazaire Ukëyëng Diatta, "Participation du Joola chrétien aux rites Traditionels," *Telema* 46/2 (Avril–Juin): 67–81. Current debates center on whether Diola Christians should participate in Diola rituals—rituals that are integral to Diola society. Idem, "Demain, le dialogue des religions? Religions révélées et religion traditionnelle des Diola," in *Comprendre la Casamance: Chronique d'une intégration contrastée* (eds., Francois-George Barbier-Wiesser; Paris: Editions Karthala, 1994), 452–3. Nazaire, a Diola himself, argues that traditional rituals point to Jesus.

[78] Sanneh, *Whose Christianity*, 24–5.

[79] Baum, "Emergence," 391.

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